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U.S. Delivers Nuclear Monitoring Equipment

LD200829 Moscow TASS in English 0812 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Semipalatinsk (Kazakhstan) April 20 TASS—A C-5B plane of the U.S. Air Force has brought equipment here for a joint Soviet-American experiment to monitor the yield of nuclear tests. The equipment was delivered to a nuclear test range located not far from the city.

Taking off from the U.S. Air Force base of Indian Springs, northwest of Las Vegas, Nevada, and making a stopover in Frankfurt-on-Main, the plane landed at the civilian airfield in Semipalatinsk on Monday with 45 tons of various equipment on board. On the same day the plane left the Soviet Union.

The purpose of the joint experiment, which is being arranged under the agreements signed in May 1986 and in June 1987 between the U.S. Natural Resources Defence Council and the USSR Academy of Sciences, is to show that already now the scientists of the two countries have effective seismic methods and means to monitor the yield of nuclear explosions right up to the lowest one.

In prospect such experiments will help lower the threshold yield of nuclear test explosions. Such experiments are to promote full ban on nuclear tests. Similar experiments were already carried out by Soviet and American specialists in the area of Semipalatinsk last year.

A group of Soviet scientists is now in Nevada to participate in an experiment at the nuclear test range where an ordinary underground explosion with an yield of ten tons of TNT is to be set off on April 29 and that with a yield of 15 tons of TNT—on April 30. The Soviet specialists have brought with them equipment to record seismic signals.

Arms Cut With SDI Research 'Realistic'

PM191411 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 First Edition p 4

[Article by Colonel N. Karasev: "SDI and the New Thinking. Logical Solutions"]

[Text] Recently Washington marked the "jubilee" of the so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI) announced by the U.S. President in March 1983. The "celebrations" revealed a mass of acute contraditions connected with the further implementation of the "Star Wars" program.

This surfaced in its most acute form in R. Reagan's speech at a conference on the theme "SDI: The First Five Years." The President accused Congress of lacking new political thinking, obviously ackowledging the popularity of this term. "If we have learned anything in the past 5 years, it is that it is sometimes easier to acquire new technology than to bring about new thinking on certain problems," he said.

The human lexicon is rich in nuances. Whereas the peace-loving public in all countries associates with the concept of "new political thinking" an adamant desire for peace, the U.S. President, judging by his speech, understands something quite different—preparations for the militarization of space, in this case "Star Wars." In fact, in the U.S. leader's opinion, Congress' lack of new thinking is manifested in the fact that over the past 4 years it has cut SDI appropriations requested by the administration.

The President proposed the highly topical and interesting theme "SDI and the New Thinking." It deserves amplification.

First, the criterion of genuinely new political thinking on SDI. I believe that the criterion is a position that contributes to making the "Star Wars" program no longer an obstacle to an agreement on nuclear disarmament. In other words, a political line is needed which makes it possible to bring about accords on a cardinal reduction of strategic offensive armaments without unrealistic bans on scientific research and development, including that related to space. This logical approach to resolving issues largely determines the Soviet viewpoint at the Geneva talks on strategic offensive armaments and the ABM Treaty.

SDI is not the subject of the Geneva talks. The discussion there is about strategic offensive armaments and about the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was adopted in 1972.

The USSR has clearly formulated its position: It is prepared for a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive armaments at the first stage given strict observance of the ABM Treaty. Insofar as SDI does not contradict the ABM Treaty, the program has nothing to do with the Geneva talks.

This position is founded on the recognition that each people has the right to decide its own problems and on the repudiation of interference in other states' internal affairs. Every country engages in basic scientific research for which it feels it has the objective potential and need. U.S. scientists have said that the "Strategic Defense Initiative" imposed a military-political direction on research that was already under way.

It is evident that much of the U.S. research covered by the SDI program does not in all cases contradict the ABM Treaty. For example, the creation of the fantastically complex computer programs, the development of new technology to ensure satellite invulnerability, and a

sharp reduction in the expenditure associated with placing a large payload in orbit—all this relates to spheres to which limitations in connection with the ABM Treaty do not extend. The U.S. press has admitted that the precise meaning of the restrictions envisaged by the treaty with regard to such new technologies as lasers and particle beams requires elucidation. It is reported that Paul Nitze, the chief expert on arms control, and Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, support the Soviet Union's proposal on reaching an accord on specific limitations on new technology. A number of U.S. scientists hold the view that it is possible to introduce limitations which would allow sufficient tests to be carried out to answer the fundamental scientific questions, while observing the ABM Treaty limitations. Specialists reckon that there is even an economic advantage to be gained from reorientating SDI to proper research tasks.

Consequently, the removal of SDI from the agenda of Soviet-American talks on disarmament has great potential in terms of the solution of the most controversial questions.

Why then, one wonders, is SDI a problem? What is the sticking point?

I believe there are two most vital facts here. One is that if the United States succeeds in carrying out its intentions with regard to SDI, although one seriously doubts this, weapons will be transferred into a new medium. This would greatly destabilize the strategic situation.

The other fact is that certain aspects of SDI are already a stumbling block in the way of real disarmament. Washington's persistent desire, on the basis of SDI, to exceed the limitations set by the 1972 ABM Treaty remains a serious problem at the Geneva talks on reducing strategic offensive armaments.

According to the U.S. press, the organization for the implementation of the Strategic Defense Initiative is at the moment actively examining the question of using missiles [boyevyye rakety] to destroy targets in outer space. To be more specific, in the next few years they want to deploy 11,000 missiles, ready to strike at targets, on 2,200 orbital battle stations or "garages."

The SDI budget for the current fiscal year has been redistributed to fit in with this idea. According to the magazine TECHNOLOGY REVIEW, more than one-half of the expenditure on the "Star Wars" program is clearly now going to developing space-based missiles. The organization for the implementation of SDI has said that expenditure on the first echelon of 300 missile "garages" will effectively double to nearly $100 billion. It is not difficult to estimate how much the "garage construction," that is, the creation of 2,200 orbital battle stations, will cost.

These plans are a blatant violation of the 1972 ABM Treaty. Given this, how is one to bring about the elaboration of mutually acceptable documents on strategic offensive armaments and ABM? The Soviet Union is looking for a solution here as well. We have suggested to the Geneva talks partners that they compare the level of combat and economic effectiveness of Soviet countermeasures in response to the possible deployment of U.S. weapons in space.

Pentagon analysts reckon that, even if all the technical and economic problems connected with the deployment of U.S. missiles in space "garages" are solved, the USSR's countermeasures could be much cheaper and could make a large number of specific areas of SDI redundant.

In the first place, since the U.S. missiles [boyevyye rakety] are designed for orbits at an altitude of less than 1,000 km, only a small number could be launched at any given moment against Soviet ICBM's. This means that to be sure of hitting targets it is necessary to have a fifteenfold—and in certain conditions a hundredfold—superiority in interceptor missiles.

Second, U.S. specialists point out that space-based missiles can cover only a limited distance in the first minutes that are available for the interception of ICBM's, when the launch motors are still operating. Pentagon consultants have convincingly demonstrated that, by making technological changes to reduce the launch phase of its missiles, the Soviet Union could sharply reduce the effectiveness of the interceptors and ultimately make their use completely pointless.

Third, U.S. researchers believe that a substantial shortcoming of space-based missiles and of the space defense system in general is that it is highly vulnerable to antisatellite weapons.

These and other similar arguments, judging by reports in the U.S. press, are at the basis of the widespread view among a number of senior military men that the 1972 ABM Treaty serves the interests of safeguarding U.S. security because it limits not only U.S. but also Soviet defense systems.

According to THE NEW YORK TIMES, the U.S. military has reflected this position in the draft accord on ABM at at the Geneva talks on strategic offensive armaments. The Joint Chiefs of Staff believe that the United States should not make a final decision in advance on the question of dispensing with commitments arising out of the ABM Treaty. The U.S. generals, according to a report in THE NEW YORK TIMES, recommended that the draft document include a provision to the effect that each party must continue to observe the ABM Treaty.

Nevertheless, the constantly destabilizing nature of SDI should be acknowledged. Why then is the Soviet Union not insisting that the program be halted immediately? I believe it is offering a sensible compromise in the spirit of the new thinking.

In real politics you cannot indulge in wishful thinking. To think that SDI can be done away with easily is an illusion. I believe that much of what has been started within the framework of the "Strategic Defense Initiative" will continue to be intensively developed. This line is being backed by rather powerful interests which cannot be ignored.

It is above all a matter of economic interests. In connection with SDI, over 3,500 contracts have been signed, mainly with military-industrial corporations. Nor are the U.S. scientists involved in the implementation of SDI losing interest in it. According to information in THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, for example, researchers are insisting, however, that "SDI become a scientific measure and cease to be a military and political project." On that basis, a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive armaments under conditions of the continuation of research, development, and tests permitted by the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972 and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period look entirely realistic. The joint Soviet-American summit statement adopted last December in Washington spells out an accord to the effect that, 3 years before the end of the agreed period of nonwithdrawal from the ABM Treaty, intensive discussions would begin about strategic stability. And after that period, unless the parties have made some other arrangement, each of them will have the right to decide on its own course of action.

Thus, the Soviet Union is conducting the Geneva talks on strategic offensive armaments and the ABM Treaty in accordance with an orderly, realistic, and logical approach to resolving disputes.

The positions of the various representatives of the U.S. ruling elite on this question are far from straightforward. Some are not looking for any new approaches at all and are proposing that the "Star Wars" progam should remain essentially brash and militarist. Others are maneuvering and are trying to give the impression that they are looking for something new, but, in fact, they are not proposing anything constructive. Yet others are directly or indirectly criticizing "Star Wars," but they can see no practical way which could be deemed realistic whereby SDI would cease to hinder the nuclear disarmament process. In connection with the Soviet Union's constructive stance, the influence of a fourth group is actively growing. They propose observance of the ABM Treaty as an essential criterion, which would pave the way for the achievement of an agreement on reducing strategic nuclear armaments.

I believe that if one acts in the spirit of genuinely new thinking, it is quite easy to make a choice.

Dobrynin, Others Address Prague Journal Meeting
PM200905 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent S. Vtorushin and TASS correspondent Yu. Trushin: "Prague Conference"]

[Text] Prague, 12 Apr—A conference attended by representatives of more than 90 communist, workers, and revolutionary democratic parties opened in the Czechoslovak capital today to discuss the work of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA [PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM; English version: WORLD MARXIST REVIEW]. It was opened by the journal's chief editor A.M. Subbotin, who presented an account by the editorial collegium and editorial council of the period from December 1984 through February 1988.

The first to speak in the discussion was V. Bilak, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and CPCZ Central Committee secretary. He noted that there had been a definite improvement in the international atmosphere.

Significant changes are taking place in the socialist countries. Restructuring, democratization, and the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are having a decisive effect on the growth of socialism's potential and the strengthening of the forces of peace and progress.

Expressing a high opinion of last November's Moscow meeting of parties' and movements' representatives, V. Bilak said that it was a kind of test of the atmosphere in the international communist movement. The movement represents enormous potential for peace and social progress, which, however, for various subjective and objective reasons, is still not being sufficiently exploited. As M.S. Gorbachev noted, the communist movement is essential to peace, but it is in need of renewal. In this respect our joint journal also has an indispensable part to play. It must be a platform of creative Marxism and new political thinking, raise the most topical issues of theory and practice, and reflect the broad spectrum of ideas, views, and experience of the communist, workers, national liberation, and the entire revolutionary and democratic movement in the world, of world socialism. It is equally important to reassess contemporary imperialism and its ability to adapt to a new situation and the increasing contradictions among its centers. In this connection we should think about setting up a scientific research base at the journal. We also believe we should not fear a polemical exchange of views with representatives of social democratic, ecologist, pacifist, and other circles.

In accordance with the new conditions and requirements, V. Bilak, said, the journal's organizational structure and the work style of its apparatus should be modified. Proposals have been put forward aimed at democratizing the editorial board's work and internationalizing its apparatus and on changing the functions of the editorial collegium and secretariat, creating an administrative and publishing council, and making the post of chief editor an elective one. In conclusion V. Bilak expressed the belief that the restructuring of PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA in the spirit of open, democratic dialogue is the most reliable way of creating an international journal in tune with the times.

Further contributions were made to the debate by E. Larsen, candidate member of the Canadian Communist Party Central Committee, and K. Muruwwah, secretary general of the Lebanese Communist Party Central Committee.

Then CPSU Central Committee Secretary A.F. Dobrynin took the floor.

The present discussion of the work of the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA, he said, is taking place in an atmosphere of radical changes in the world and in all parts of the world.

Questions pertaining to the internal lives of parties are not being discussed here—that is their own business. But it is quite right and necessary to talk about the real state of our movement and the causes of the complex and contradictory situation in it.

The causes are diverse. But we can simplify matters somewhat and round them up into three groups.

The first is associated with certain substantial modifications in world social development, above all with new phenomena in the development of capitalism, which has shown greater durability than previously thought. In the conditions of the scientific-technical revolution and the profound social changes it has caused, the character of the mass base on which the communist movement has traditionally rested is changing. This creates difficult problems for it.

If you take the fraternal parties in the developing countries, difficulties have arisen there, associated not only with traits inherited from the past, but with difficulties in their present development. The majority of these countries are in effect faced with having to struggle for the path of progressive democratic development in conditions of capitalism.

The second group of objective causes that are inhibiting the development of the communist movement is undoubtedly associated with the fact that socialism, at its present stage of development, has essentially not yet fully revealed its advantages and has not yet provided the masses in the Western countries with an example of the thorough democratization of society and radical, priority

solution of economic problems. This has been compounded by negative processes in the development of a whole lot of socialist countries, starting with ours. Socialism's powers of attraction have waned as a result.

We are implementing our restructuring on the basis of the conditions and needs of our own country, and we have no intention at all of suggesting that the recipe will suit everyone. But we are clearly aware also of our international responsibility for the success of the work we have begun. After all, it is on the renewal of the theory and practice of socialism and on communists' ability to consider the changes taking place in the world that not only the future of socialism but in many respects the character and direction of the whole of world social development and, ultimately, the future of civilization itself depend. Yet the basic conclusion remains unchanged: There is an alternative to capitalism. That alternative is socialism.

The third group of factors which have had an adverse effect on the state of affairs in the communist movement relates to the sphere of mutual relations among fraternal parties. We are sure the communist movement is capable of emerging from the protracted period marked by bouts of polemics leading to the exacerbation of relations and even severance of relations between parties. The establishment of parties' self-reliance and independence is not seen as a problem any more—it is not under threat from anyone or anything. The situation here has become perfectly clear, and it is irreversible. But the fact that communists are lagging behind in the area of international cooperation is particularly noticeable against the background of the actions of the Internationals of other political currents and parties—Social Democrats, "Greens," Christians, Conservatives, Liberals. One can certainly boldly assert that our movement's future depends directly on overcoming this lag, on deepening communist parties' collaboration.

In our view the communist movement as a whole is currently going through a crucial period in its development. It is a period of bold quest, thought, doubts, and hopes. The key question for us all is that of acquiring a much more thorough understanding of the modern world and its problems and understanding of the ground that has been covered, including the historical ground, and, at the same time, planning the way to the future.

Unfortunately we have all clearly gotten behind—and this was plainly stated at the November meeting in Moscow—in the interpretation of the nature of the new realities of the late 20th century. We must make up lost ground and, above all, address new theoretical issues.

One topical issue of this kind is the correlation between common human and class interests and problems.

In theory, it is all clear. On the one hand, as was noted by K. Marx and F. Engels, and then by V.I. Lenin, the historical mission of the working class is to liberate the whole of mankind and create on earth a society free from social and national oppression, from the scourge of wars and so forth. On the other hand, it is the working class and working people who are suffering most as a result of the current exacerbation of global problems—from the arms race, from wars, including local wars, from unresolved development ("North-South") problems. Consequently, it is working people who are primarily interested in the solution of tasks that are common to all mankind. For them it is a class and a common human imperative.

I want to pay attention to two aspects of this problem. The first is that, whereas before Marxists believed that the destruction of class oppression would precede the solution of common human problems, one cannot now expect success in the class struggle without taking on common human slogans and tasks. This is a new, but fundamentally important fact.

The other aspect is that of finding specific ways to link the struggle for the solution of common human problems with that for the solution of class problems and finding the slogans to go with it. It is a task that can only be solved in the context of each country's specific national character.

There is another question we must all consider from a new, present-day viewpoint—it is the question of ways of developing the struggle for social progress under current conditions.

Many communist parties long ago reached the conclusion that it is necessary to ensure a peaceful passage for social transformations in conditions of constantly expanding democracy. This conclusion has a particular immediacy in the prevailing international conditions.

But other situations may occur. Interference by imperialism, violence on the part of right-wing forces (which, incidentally, cannot be ruled out anywhere) can give rise to retaliatory—and entirely warranted—actions, including armed actions, by revolutionary forces. How can such a conflict be kept within national bounds and be prevented from becoming a new seat of international tension? There also needs to be a detailed exchange of views and consideration of all available experience on these problems.

In any event, it is clear to us that social progress, whatever path it develops along, is now possible only in conditions of international peace, only given observance of each people's right to freely decide their own destiny without outside interference.

All these problems are already being discussed, sometimes passionately and fervently. Different, sometimes divergent views have been expressed in the course of the

debate. This seems perfectly natural bearing in mind the specific situations in individual countries and regions and the particular circumstances in one fraternal party or another.

Our conclusion is that it is very important to listen closely to one another and study one another's positions and views, particularly in relation to general theoretical standpoints and conclusions. None of us revolutionaries has the right to lose touch with life and the problems it presents. The CPSU has learned from its own experience that any loss of touch with life, any attempt to avoid complex problems leads to difficulties and can sometimes create dramatic situations. We draw the most serious conclusions from this in the political plane and in the plane of the creative development of theory, in which we would also like to cooperate with fraternal parties.

The journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA is the very place where parties' representatives can conduct profound theoretical debates. We do not doubt that they can be of assistance in clarifying particular positions, arriving at common conclusions on particular issues or making fundamentally new inferences, and making every party aware of the multiplicity of views that exist in our movement.

It seems to us that to achieve this it is necessary to approach the discussion of the movement's general and particular problems freely and without fear of conflicting opinions and achieve a certain standard of debate that rules out both interference in one another's affairs, insults, and the practice of pinning labels on one another.

One difficult problem that is now faced by basically the whole communist movement is the assessment of its historical experience. The history of the communist movement, above all everything that relates to the history of our party and country, are the object of ideological squabbles that are increasing in intensity.

Having embarked on the path of improving socialism, we had first of all to address Lenin's legacy. We know well enough from our own experience that our country's biggest achievements are due to the consistent application of Leninist principles and Leninist methodology. Whenever and wherever, in fact, these principles have been violated or ignored we have encountered failures and, on occasions, defeats.

To resurrect historical truth is to defend Leninism and assert its authenticity. The resurrection of historical truth is the foundation for movement forward, an important guarantee that the negative aspects of the past will not be repeated.

Of course, during the debate on problems of history we are voicing different and often contradictory views. A debate is a debate. But everyone must know the party itself will ultimately provide the concept of history.

Of course, ideological opponents are exploiting our glasnost about the past. So what is new? Bourgeois ideologists have never left us in peace. They used to attempt to discredit us by referring to various real events in our past which we were keeping quiet about. Now they are trying to discredit us for talking about them openly.

The journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA certainly must remain our own, communist publication. But it cannot avoid contributing to the organization of broader cooperation among forces representing the entire workers and entire democratic movement.

A new situation is taking shape in the workers movement. A favorable atmosphere is being generated for deepening broad dialogue and for developing relations between the two main trends of the workers movement—communists and social democrats. Of course, more attention should also be paid to such a large political force, operating in the countries of Asia and Africa, as the developing countries' revolutionary democratic parties. And, of course, the journal PROBLEMY MIRA I SOTSIALIZMA can and must address more actively, more enthusiastically, and more boldly the problems of the development of socialism and its theory and history and the problems of its improvement and renewal.

All this is particularly important now that one can boldly state that the masses on all continents of the world have come to the forefront of history itself in their millions.

In conclusion, A.F. Dobrynin stressed that on the basis of the best, proven traditions of the journal it ought to resolutely address the new realities and problems and the fraternal parties' present-day ideological and theoretical requirements and the new political thinking, implementing more consistently and thoroughly the principles of equality among parties and their genuine, comradely cooperation and ensuring a more broadly democratic and more collective journal leadership.

The conference continues tomorrow.

Hijacking, Murder Form 'Labyrinth of Terror'

LD191532 Moscow TASS in English 1439 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—By TASS commentator Viktor Lebedev:

Seventeen terrorists, whose release from Kuwaiti prisons is now being demanded by the hijackers of the plane Boeing-747 of the Kuwaiti Air Company, has already once been a bargaining counter. The bargaining was conducted in Washington in 1986 under the veil of secrecy by an Iranian delegation with notorious American Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North, which is mentioned in the book "The Iran-Contra Puzzle" Congressional Quarterly Inc. Washington D.C. [sentence as received]

The question of the release of 17 terrorists, the quarterly says, was on the nine-point plan, which was part of the deal under which Israel was to supply 500 TOW missiles in exchange for the release of American hostage David Jacobson, director of the U.S. University Hospital in Beirut.

The White House, the book says, promised them help for the release of the terrorists convicted by the Kuwaiti court in February 1984 for acts of sabotage against the U.S. and French Embassies.

As a result American Jacobson was released, Iran purchased weapons, which were sold by Israel, the additional reward for which was that the weapons were aimed against the Arabs.

No few acts of terrorism were staged in the Middle East in the course of recent years, whose aim was the fight against Israel and against the interests of imperialism in the region. Terrorism, a means which is unworthy of the aim, distorts these aims themselves. The forces staging acts of terrorism close up and come into collusion with those whom they declare for everybody to hear to be their enemies. As a result of their criminal actions innocent people are killed, the number of victims grows, dramas take place, but as a result only the sides advocating violence stand to gain. The insane labyrinth of terror ends up in the impasses of immorality.

Against the background of the tragic development of the incident with the capture of the Kuwaiti Boeing, which has riveted world public attention, an act of political murder was staged in Tunis, Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir], one of the Palestinian leaders, fell victim of Israeli agents. Here is another dark aspect of the bargaining being conducted on these days by the hijackers of the plane over the destiny of 17 terrorists, who are imprisoned in Kuwaiti jails.

Korionov Views Settling of Regional Conflicts

PM191217 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 First Edition p 5

[Article by political observer Vitaliy Korionov under the "Viewpoint" rubric: "Fine Example"—passage between slantlines as published]

[Text] The fervent worldwide support for the successful conclusion of the Geneva diplomatic process concerning Afghanistan is due primarily to the fact that the preconditions have been established for achieving stabilization in one of the most troubled regions on the planet. But that is not the only reason. The peoples are also profoundly satisfied by the fact that an effective means has finally been found to achieve a sensible solution to a crisis which had so far proved intractable. This is a question of ways to end local wars.

/Along with the arms race, local armed conflicts may with complete justification be called the scourge of the modern world./ [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian Second Edition for 19 April also publishes this article, but omits preceding passage between slantlines]

Some researchers estimate that more than 250 local wars were waged in the world between the fifties and the eighties. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute calculates that in 1986 there were 36 such wars in the world, in which more than 40 countries were embroiled and 3-5 million people died. But these figures may even be an understatement. After all, according to AP's figures, more than 1 million people had been killed in the Iran-Iraq war alone by the beginning of 1988, 1,700,000 had been wounded, and the material damage suffered by the two sides by that date had already passed the $500 billion mark. Or take Nicaragua. The undeclared war against that country's freedom-loving people has cost more than 50,000 lives.

As a counter to the policy which has plunged entire peoples into the abyss of long-running permanent conflicts, the forces of reason and realism offered a fundamentally different course whose essence can be summed up in two words: national reconciliation.

The new political thinking enabled the CPSU to state with the utmost conviction that the path of war and civil strife does not offer an appropriate solution.

There is no doubting the service performed by those forces in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and certain other countries which unhesitatingly chose this difficult but very promising course. Tribute should also be paid to those U.S. circles which acknowledged that such a policy was sensible when they became party to the remarkable document in Geneva.

Many Western press organs are now suggesting that the Geneva accords are hardly likely to bring lasting peace to Afghanistan. Are such fears well founded? In reply to

that question, one should bear in mind two aspects of it. The first is the foreign policy one. The peace settlement is based on comprehensively elaborated basic principles of mutual relations between Afghanistan and Pakistan guaranteed by the USSR and the United States. The second aspect is internal. Whereas the foreign policy aspect is more or less guaranteed, the same cannot be said, unfortunately, of the second. As is well known, the Afghan opposition, armed with U.S. weapons, is declaring hysterically that it is not bound by any cease-fire commitments. The more fanatical members of the "Alliance of Seven" are prepared once more to drown their people's land in blood.

I believe that there is every reason to say that the adherents of civil war would not have behaved so impudently but for Washington's incessant promises to continue supplying them with lethal weapons. But this means that the further development of events in Afghanistan depends to a very large extent on what kind of policy the U.S. Administration is now going to pursue.

The policy of national reconciliation is currrently being tested in Central America, too. As in Afghanistan, the success of the national reconciliation cause there depends to a large extent on Washington's policy. At the direct talks held recently in Managua, the contra representatives again rejected the Sandinist government's constructive proposals. NEWSWEEK reports that the CIA is egging the contra leaders on to adopt a stance which would make it possible to "pin responsibility for the failure of the talks on the Nicaraguan Government."

Let it be made clear: Every people, whether large or small, are fully entitled to choose their own development path. The policy of national reconciliation is one element in that choice.

Further on Local Conflicts

AU191934 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 18 Apr 88 p 6

[Article by Vitaliy Korionov, PRAVDA political observer:"Powerful Impetus for Settling Regional Problems"—"specially written for RABOTNICHESKO DELO"]

[Text] The Geneva diplomatic process ended with the following result: The agreements on Afghanistan were signed. The forces of common sense and realism made their contribution to the annals of the struggle for peace, and this is an event, which without being afraid of making a mistake, we can confidently compare with the Soviet-American INF Treaty. The West German daily SUEDDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG said the following: "The Soviet leadership should be awarded a prize for political foresight."

While the Washington treaty opens the path toward the liberation of mankind from the chains of nuclear weapons, the Afghanistan agreement opens a window of hope for settling one of the most painful problems of our contemporary epoch—the halt to regional wars.

We are fully justified in calling regional armed conflicts, along with the arms race, the scourge of our present-day world. Experts are providing different data on the number of these wars and on the extent of their destructive results. Thus, the British journal THE ECONOMIST on 12 March 1988 published data on the military actions which are conducted these days and on their victims (by counting only the losses in conflicts in which the number of those killed exceeded 1,000 in the first year of their eruption). The number of those killed, according to the aforementioned report, exceeds 3 million people. I even think that these figures are an understatement, since, according to ASSOCIATED PRESS, in the Iran-Iraq conflict alone, the number of people killed at the beginning of 1988 exceeded 1 million, while the number of wounded exceeded 17 million people, and the material losses of both sides together exceeded $500 billion. And the end of this senseless war is not in sight.

According to research by the Stockholm International Institute on Peace Problems, 250 local wars were waged on our planet since the beginning of the fifties. In 1986 alone, 36 such wars took place, in which 41 countries were involved and the losses of human lives amounted to 3-5 million people.

One of the paradoxes of our contemporary world is that numerous people are beginning to get used to this situation and somehow seem to find consolation in the fact that such events are happening far away from them—"on the periphery." As for the Soviet Union, it has always had a different approach to this problem. We think that we cannot and should not solve even the most complicated international problems with arms. At its 27th Congress the CPSU resolutely adopted a policy aimed at the settlement of regional military conflicts in a peaceful manner only, through political means—namely through negotiations. The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan are embodied in this line of policy. They are the results of new political thinking, which the CPSU and the other communists and workers parties from the fraternal socialist countries are most zealously putting into practice in their international relations.

New political thinking produces new diplomacy as well. Everyone is aware of the fact today that since a problem as intricate as the Afghanistan conflict could be solved, it means that mankind has acquired an effective instrument for solving problems which until recently were considered insoluble. This is the instrument of political negotiations, of a patient though sometimes rather painful dialogue between two sides for the achievement of national reconciliation.

Naturally, this should not make us euphoric. The Geneva agreements will not resolve the "Afghanistan problem" with one stroke. The leaders of the Afghan armed opposition hysterically insist that the document signed in Geneva does not apply to them. "The mujahidin are not bound by any commitments for a cease-fire", Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, one of the chiefs of the extremist groups, declared on the eve of the signing of the Geneva documents. Such "hawks" naturally are a great harm to the people. The more so, since they rely on Washington.

The Geneva agreements on Afghanistan had hardly been signed, when across the ocean, high-ranking representatives of the U.S. Administration declared: "We intend to pursue our arms deliveries as in the past," and "Pakistan remains the channel for these deliveries."

Blood continues to be shed on the Palestinian territory, and—as in the past—the Middle East region continues to be a hotbed of tension.

The supporters of "forceful pressure" have by no means given up their plans in Central America. The loss of over 50,000 human lives is the price for the undeclared war waged by the Yankees and their mercenaries in Nicaragua. Managua opposed this aggressive line with its own policy of national reconciliation. The Contadora Group member states, as well as the members of the Support Group, which represent the majority of the population on the Latin American Continent, are actively contributing to the implementation of this policy. However, despite the peoples' will, Washington is stubbornly obstructing all peace efforts in this area. There is even more: The sinister shadow of U.S. armed intervention is threatening another Latin American state—namely, Panama.

In his speech to the annual Congress of the American Society of newspaper editors delivered on 13 April 1988 at the Marriott Hotel in Washington, President Reagan, in dealing with the situation in the Central American region, made the following statement: "Not only the editors and readers but also our grandchildren, and great-grandchildren will judge us according to our approach on the questions of democracy in that area." Yes, this is true, they will judge—not only the words, but also the deeds.

Under these circumstances, the first-rate importance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan manifests itself with even greater emphasis. This strengthens the peoples' confidence that such agreements will contribute to stopping the blood-shedding, fratricidal war in that country, as well as giving a powerful impetus to the process of settling local armed conflicts in other areas of the planet.

NATO, Warsaw Pact Retired Generals To Meet

LD200027 Moscow TASS in English 2308 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Vienna April 9 TASS—The fifth traditional meeting of retired generals of the Warsaw Treaty Organisation and NATO will be held in Vienna from April 26 to 28.

The "Generals for Peace and Disarmament" international group has said that the meeting will be attended by former army top brass from Bulgaria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Great Britain, Greece, Norway, the Netherlands and other countries.

They will look for effective ways of averting the outbreak of a new war and will also exchange views on issues related to the search of new forms of cooperation of public forces of various political orientation in strengthening international security, limiting the nuclear arms race, reducing the armed forces and conventional arms and creating the atmosphere of trust in relations among countries with different social systems.

Federation of UN Associations Leader in Moscow

PM191011 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report under the "Official Reports" rubric]

[Text] M. Strong, president of the World Federation of UN Associations, was in Moscow on 4-8 April at the invitation of the USSR UN Association.

In the course of conversations at the USSR Foreign Ministry, the UN Association, the International Foundation for Mankind's Survival and Development, the Soviet Peace Fund, and a number of USSR Academy of Sciences institutes, questions of increasing world public support for the United Nations' activity in the sphere of ensuring peace and creating an all-embracing system of international security and boosting its role and prestige in the world and the efficiency of its work were discussed. Special attention was devoted to M. Strong's initiative regarding the creation under the auspices of the World Federation of UN Associations of a UN commission to ensure global security made up of prominent representatives of international sociopolitical circles in favor of peace, disarmament, the strengthening of cooperation, and the solution of cardinal international problems.

Kiev Meeting Held on Safe Use of Nuclear Power

LD191647 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1505 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Kiev 19 Apr (TASS)—Questions regarding the efficient notification of possible nuclear accidents and assistance to affected countries are being discussed at a meeting of a special working group of the executive council of the World Meteorological Organization

(WMO). It is taking place in the capital of Soviet Ukraine—Kiev, the closest major city to the area of the accident at the Chernobyl AES.

This is already the second such meeting. The first was held a year ago in Geneva. The beginning and active development of the WMO's activity in this field was in response to the proposals by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, about the setting up of an international regime for the safe development of nuclear power engineering.

Representatives of Australia, Hungary, Britain, Spain, Italy, Canada, the USSR, Finland, France, FRG, CSSR, Yugoslavia, and Japan are attending.

United States & Canada

Shultz Departs for Moscow; Agenda Outlined

LD191658 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1630 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Washington, 19 Apr (TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz today left by air for Moscow, where on Thursday and Friday he will hold another round of talks with Eduard Shevardnadze, CPSU Central Committee member and USSR minister of foreign affairs. On his way to the USSR the secretary of state will make a stopover in Helsinki.

On the agenda of the new round of Soviet-U.S. talks is preparation for the summit meeting in Moscow between Mikhail Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and U.S. President Ronald Reagan. On the threshold of the meeting the foreign ministers of the two countries will try to eliminate differences concerning the wording of the draft treaty between the USSR and United States on a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the two countries, a high-ranking State Department spokesman said. According to him, there are currently some 1,200 terms whose translations have not been agreed upon. About half are easily solved technical questions. The other half are connected with a divergence in the positions of the sides, the State Department spokesman noted, expressing the hope that a considerable proportion of the terms would be agreed on during G. Shultz' talks with E.A. Shevardnadze and that the treaty would be ready by the beginning of the summit.

At the ministers' talks, the State Department said, there will also be discussion on regional problems, human rights, and bilateral relations.

On completing the talks G. Shultz will visit Kiev on Saturday and Tbilisi on Sunday. On Monday he arrives in Brussels, where he will inform representatives of the United States West European NATO allies of the results of his talks in Moscow.

Stops Over in Helsinki

LD200614 Moscow TASS in English 0648 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Helsinki April 20 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz arrived here today on his way to Moscow. During his one-day visit to Helsinki he is to meet President Mauno Koivisto and other Finnish officials.

Shultz Meetings Previewed

LD201213 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, and the United States secretary of state, George Shultz, are to meet again on Thursday, the 21st. Viktor Glazunov comments:

Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz are meeting in order to prepare the fourth Gorbachev-Reagan summit, due to take place in Moscow from 29th May to 2 June. Incidentally, this is the 25th time that the Soviet and American foreign ministers meet over the past 2 and 1/2 years. The Soviet-American dialogue has never developed with such intensity. Mikhail Gorbachev has said the USSR wants a stable, mutually beneficial, and demilitarized relationship with the United States.

The Soviet Union and the United States each account for about one-quarter to one-third of the world's scientific and technological potential. Their military potential is still greater. It is easy to imagine that constructive cooperation between the USSR and the United States would have a very favorable effect on the world situation in general. Now one can say that light has appeared at the end of the tunnel. The Afghan settlement has shed an example of how to tackle regional conflicts. Before that there was a breakthrough in favor of nuclear disarmament when a treaty eliminating two types of nuclear missiles was signed. A reduction in strategic nuclear arms by half is the issue of the day.

Will the draft of a strategic offensive arms treaty be finalized for the Moscow summit? Will the Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting give an impetus powerful enough to boost the preparation of the treaty in the time left? Cold skeptics are pessimistic; there is too little time left and the hurdles to be removed are very serious. But, at the same time, one is bound to recall the work on the INF Treaty. In that case, too, there were quite a few difficulties until the very last days and final solutions were found in the course of talks between Eduard Shevardnadze and George Shultz. Let's hope that it'll be so this time, too. Let us also hope that the Shevardnadze-Shutlz meeting will help resolve regional conflicts, including those in the Middle East and Southwest Asia, where the situation has worsened sharply.

The example of constructive Soviet-American cooperation in efforts to achieve a political settlement around Afghanistan may play a favorable role. If third countries have the opportunity to build their foreign policies in the world where Washington and Moscow have replaced total rivalry with realistic cooperation this would entirely change the nature of international relations.

Further Reportage on Persian Gulf Situation

Reagan: 'Necessary' Measure

LD200847 Moscow TASS in English 0731 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 20 TASS—President Reagan sent a special message to the Congress on Tuesday in view of last week's incident in the Persian Gulf involving the U.S. frigate Samuel B. Roberts and the ensuing U.S. naval attack on Iranian oil facilities.

The President referred to the U.S. armed action in the Persian Gulf as a "necessary" measure taken by the U.S. Armed Forces at his "specific direction".

Reagan stated that the USA considered "the matter closed" but warned that the U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf remained "prepared to take any additional action necessary to protect themselves".

The U.S. President's message to Congress in accordance with the provisions of the War Powers Act pursues the aim of preventing the invocation of the act which requires withdrawing U.S. troops from an area of operations within 60 days in the absence of a different decision by U.S. Congress.

Reagan Meets House Leaders

LD192217 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Washington April 19 TASS—U.S. President Ronald Reagan today met at the White House with Republican congressional leaders to discuss the situation in the Persian Gulf, which had been aggravated by a series of U.S. armed actions there Monday.

Prior to the meeting, Reagan claimed that the situation in the Gulf "seems to be quieting down".

He said that nine U.S. warships continued the search for a missing helicopter with two crewmen. The helicopter had disappeared during a reconnaissance flight Monday.

After the meeting, the Republican leader of the House of Representatives, Robert Michel, voiced satisfaction with a U.S. naval operation in which two Iranian oil platforms had been destroyed in the Gulf.

Republican legislators told reporters that the chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, had denied at the White House meeting reports that Iran had fired Silkworm missiles at U.S. ships.

'Aggression Under Camouflage'

LD200846 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

"The power politics to which the U.S. Administration resorted by issuing an order to its warships to shell Iranian oil platforms, is a threat to the countries in the region and a destabilizing factor," said today General Geliy Batenin, military expert of the CPSU Central Committee.

"In fact the U.S. fleet in the Persian Gulf has committed an act of aggression under the camouflage of harangues on the need for stopping the Iran-Iraq war and ensuring safety of navigation in the Gulf," General Butenin told TASS. Power-political methods of settling international conflicts are unacceptable in the present-day world.

"The only real way to peaceful settlement of the situation in the region is political. The earlier the White House abandons attempts to secure its interests through military means and agrees to withdraw its warships from the Persian Gulf, the sooner the main factors undermining security in the region will be eliminated," pointed out the Soviet military expert.

Moscow gave attention to some foreign press reports indicating a threat of the conflict's spreading in the Persian Gulf Zone. For instance, a statement by Iranian television and radio (as quoted by the American ABC TV company) that Iran is in a state of war with the USA, cannot but evoke concern. Indicative is also a threatening concentration of U.S. warships in the Persian Gulf where, according to the same ABC, the USA has now one cruiser, four destroyers and seven frigates. An aircraft carrier group stays close to the entrance to the Gulf.

The Moscow diplomatic quarters believe that the U.S. President's order to attack the Iranian targets can be evidently regarded also as a contribution to the inter-party struggle at the present U.S. electoral campaign. Authorizing power-political methods, the White House plays up to right-wingers in the hope for their support at the elections. But the coming elections is a purely domestic problem of the USA, and it is inadmissible to settle it at the expense of other nations.

U.S. 'Aggravates' Situation

OW191405 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; Farid Seyful-Mulyukov commentary]

[Text] As a White House spokesman has stated, U.S. forces attacked two Iranian oil platforms in the Persian Gulf. Fire broke out on these platforms. The attack followed U.S. Administration declarations that measures would be taken against Iran, in response to the mine-laying activities in Persian Gulf waters of which the latter was being accused. United Arab Emirates authorities have decided to evacuate their personnel from Persian Gulf oil platforms. A commentary by political observer Seyful-Mulyukov follows:

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Hello, comrades. Washington explains the new military action against Iran as being a reciprocal measure. I wish to remind you that the U.S. destroyer "Samuel Roberts" was damaged by a mine last Thursday off the Iranian coast and that 10 of her crew were wounded.

The Persian Gulf is literally swarming with mines. Five hundred foreign ships, mainly civilian ones, have already become victims of the mine and tanker war.

However, instead of putting out the Iran-Iraq conflict through joint efforts of the international community and promoting normalization of the Persian Gulf situation by political means, the United States, with obvious premeditation, resorted to the use of force. This only aggravates the situation in the region and creates the threat of direct U.S. involvement in the local conflict.

According to U.S. press reports, the White House had been considering various forms of anti-Iranian action—from sending the battleship "New Jersey," which shelled Beirut, to striking numerous Iranian targets. Characteristically the U.S. Navy's operation against the Iranian oil installations was undertaken after consultations with congressional leaders and the United States' allies.

Concentration of U.S. and NATO combatant ships in the Persian Gulf is merely creating obstacles to sea shipping and broadening the scope of the Iran-Iraq conflict. Why is the Reagan administration risking direct confrontation with Iran which could lead to unpredictable consequences? One gets the impression that the present master of the White House, under pressure from extreme rightist forces at a time when the U.S. election campaign is gathering speed, wants to show the American public and the whole world that he adheres to a policy of force.

This is a road which leads to nowhere. Regional conflicts, as the political normalization around Afghanistan convincingly demonstrates, can be eliminated not with the aid of the Stingers or artillery but by means of constructive action and compromise.

U.S. Presence Heightens Danger

LD191310 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] The sharply aggravated situation in the Persian Gulf, resulting from an exchange of attacks between the United States and Iran, has naturally drawn the heightened attention and concern of the world public. Here is what Radio Moscow news analyst Aleksandr Pogodin writes:

I won't deal with the destruction of Iranian oil platforms by the Americans, their attacks on Iranian ships, and reports about an American helicopter having been shot down by the Iranians. Much is said and written about all this and very often reports are very contradictory. It seems to me that it is not the particulars that are important in this case, but the fact that the crisis situation in the Gulf has entered a new, exceedingly dangerous stage. Military specialists say that this was the sixth instance the United States used military force in the Gulf.

Judging by the statement made by President Ronald Reagan on Monday, the United States Administration intends to go on using the toughest military measures to attain its political objective and that is very alarming. Personally, I begin to think that perhaps the American leaders are conscientiously and, what is more, deliberately aggravating the situation in the Gulf to the extreme. Who knows, perhaps Washington intends to use the present very dangerous situation as a pretext for starting large-scale military operations in order to end opposition to its policy in the region once and for all.

It might seem that putting the question in such a way is groundless and contradicting to commonsense. But it is exactly commonsense that should have long made it clear to the United States that its policy of building up its military presence in the Gulf has long suffered a complete setback, just as its threat to use military force in order to impose its dictate on the countries of the region. The introduction of a new naval armada in the Gulf, where American warships have been operating for the past 40 years, produced no positive results. The danger to international shipping has not been reduced; on the contrary, it increased greatly. The time has gone forever when certain powers could count on the use of military force to attain their political ends, says Aleksandr Pogodin. Today disputed problems should be solved politically and settlements reached through mutual concessions.

U.S. Action, Iran's Remarks Noted

LD191501 Moscow TASS in English 1442 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—TASS news analyst Valeriy Vavilov writes:

The operations by the U.S. Navy in the Persian Gulf look as a gangster-like act. Admiral William Crowe, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, reported at a Pentagon briefing the details of this action: Two squadrons of U.S. warships armed with most sophisticated weapons approached the Iranian Sassan and Sirri offshore oil pumping platforms, struck and set them ablaze. The Marines who boarded the platforms completed the destruction. As a result, two oil drilling rigs were totally demolished. Three Iranian ships and at least two boats were sunk or heavily damaged.

Certainly, Iranian combatant ships could not mount a somewhat serious resistance to the Americans as the forces were clearly not equivalent. Pentagon officials do not disclose the number of casualties sustained by Iranian seamen and workers. They do not admit either the missing of a U.S. helicopter that took part in the operation.

U.S. President Ronald Reagan, who ordered the attacks on the Iranian facilities, called this action by the U.S. Navy as a "measured response". The incident involving the U.S. frigate, Samuel B. Roberts, which hit a mine in the Persian Gulf, was chosen as a pretext for such a response. Certainly, the piratic actions by the "Islamic

Revolutionary Guards Corps", which almost daily attack oil-laden tankers in the Persian Gulf, cannot be justified by any considerations.

But Americans did not even bother to find out how did the mine appear to be in the route of the ship, who laid it there. They decided to act—to set one more example in the self-same spirit of permissiveness and arbitrariness. The President said that the United States launched this action so that Iranians had no illusions left regarding the price for an irresponsible conduct.

According to the ABC television network, officials in Washington view continued strikes at Iranian targets not only possible but also likely.

U.S. Secretary of Defense Frank Carlucci boasts that the President's order was fulfilled. It is exactly for the execution of such orders—the maintenance of the freedom of navigation is only a pretext—that an armada of American combatant ships was concentrated in the Persian Gulf. It involves some 30 ships and about 25,000 servicemen, whose combat might certainly exceeds by far the Iranian Armed Forces.

But it is utterly clear that the aggressive actions in the Persian Gulf can only lead to an escalation of the conflict. And the way out of this stalemate can be only one—implementing within the shortest possible time U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 in its entirety. This document provides a sturdy foundation for a peaceful settlement of the conflict. Exactly in this issue there can be no illusion whatsoever.

The Soviet Union is known to have proposed forming United Nations-flagged naval forces in the interests of settling the conflict and scaling down tension in the region.

Against a backdrop of this clear-cut Soviet stand, which rules out any false rumours, the statement by 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani, speaker of the Iranian parliament, looks strange if not absurd. He claimed that the military operations in the Persian Gulf area were part of a coordinated campaign of the United States, the Soviet Union and Kuwait. News analysts draw attention to the fact these accusations were made by the figure on whose behalf talks were conducted during the Irangate and deals were struck with the U.S. Administration on covert shipments of American weapons to Iran.

Diplomatic Efforts Needed

LD200218 Moscow in English to North America 2202 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] The last few days have seen a sharp deterioration of the situation in the Persian Gulf. Vladislav Kozyakov has this comment:

One can understand the feelings experienced by the Americans when the news reached them last week that the frigate "Samuel B. Roberts" of the United States Navy had blown up on a mine in the Persian Gulf and 10 of their compatriots had been injured. The perfidious nature of those who plant mines on shipping lanes cannot help but arouse the indignation and even wrath of all the people. The world public already voiced its energetic protest in 1984 when the order from Washington agents of the Central Intelligence Agency planted mines off the Nicaraguan shores and 11 merchants ships of various countries were damaged as a result.

The question arises however what countersteps nations should take in retaliation to such an action as the planting of mines in the open sea. What should have the upper hand in the situation of this kind—diplomacy or shooting? Since Washington officials claimed that the mines on which the frigate "Samuel B. Roberts" blew up had been planted by Iranians they ordered therefore to deliver a blow on two Iranian oil rigs. Then the United States forces sank and damaged four attack boats and disabled two Iranian frigates. The White House termed these actions as a warning measure and an attempt at deterring but the effect was quite the opposite. Iran carried out a retaliatory attack on American and British merchant vessels and on an American helicopter.

What future lies in store for the two sides if the continue their dialogue from a position of strength? This question arouses apprehensions, especially since military actions are being escalated in the area where the prolonged war is raging between Iran and Iraq. Tehran has declared today that the American forces have entered the war. The concern over the fact that the United States may find itself involved in the conflict has made certain Democrats, members of the American Congress, demand that the War Powers Act, restricting the President's power to carry out hostilities abroad, should be invoked.

Developments of the last few days show how important it is to use diplomatic efforts in order to bring the Iran-Iraqi war to a stop and to put to practice first and foremost the United Nations Security Council resolution on the cease fire. Incidentally, one of the items of this resolution calls on all nations to show restraint and take no actions that would lead to the aggravation of the situation in the region.

Officials Assure SDI Tests Not To Violate ABM

LD192207 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1900 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From "The World Today" program, presented by Farid Seyful-Mulyukov]

[Text] The heads of the SDI program and the Pentagon have assured members of the U.S. Congress that during the tests planned for next year the United States will refrain from violating the Soviet-U.S. ABM Treaty.

These assurances were made at a hearing in one of the Senate commissions by James Abrahamson, director of the SDI Organization, and Robert Costello, U.S. assistant secretary of defense.

However, these assurances by no means signify that the White House has decided to give up its intention to go over to the so-called broad interpretation of the ABM Treaty which will enable the United States to untie its hands to develop [razrabotka] testing elements of the Star Wars system. Washington's policy on this question remains unchanged.

Arbatov Urges Expanded Bilateral Trade

PM191545 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Interview with Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, by TASS correspondent A. Orlov: "Academician G.A. Arbatov. USSR-United States: Trade Potential"; date and place not given—first two paragraphs are IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] The annual meeting of the American-Soviet Trade and Economic Council [ASTEC] is due to begin work in Moscow. The U.S. business delegation which is arriving in our capital to take part in it is the largest in the entire history of such meetings, and it is interested in developing mutually advantageous cooperation with the Soviet Union.

The way Soviet-U.S. trade relations are developing and the prospects now emerging in this sphere are described by Academician G.A. Arbatov, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute, in a conversation with TASS correspondent A. Orlov.

[Arbatov] Today, excluding our purchases of U.S. grain, the volume of trade between the USSR and the United States is insignificant. Since we hope we will very soon have rectified the situation in agriculture and will be in a position to give up grain purchases or reduce them to a minimum, unless the situation changes it will be enough to make you weep: Our exports of some $300 million and imports of some $500 million a year.

Such is the current situation. I think it is abnormal, unnatural, and bad from all points of view, and the situation must be radically rectified.

Of course, we can survive without trade with the United States, just as the United States can survive without trade with the Soviet Union. If nothing else, our countries have managed to prove at least this during the postwar years. Moreover, I think there are natural reasons why we will not become the main economic partner of the United States, and the United States will not become our main economic partner in the near, the foreseeable future.

The most worrisome point in the present state of Soviet-U.S. trade, despite all the adversities, lies not in the economic but in the political aspect of the problem. We cannot fail to perceive the stance taken by the U.S. Government and Congress toward trade with the USSR as a manifestation of their true intentions toward the Soviet Union, intentions which, specifically, are not only malevolent but even hostile.

This perception is more than justified today. Trade is failing to develop not because there is no potential for this purpose but primarily because the United States is blocking it for political reasons. After all, the entire system of discriminatory measures created during the "cold war" years remains in place untouched: absence of most-favored-nation status, restrictions on credits to the USSR, and prohibition on the export of very many goods to the USSR and other socialist countries on the pretext of defending national security (export controls). Commodities which allegedly place U.S. national security in jeopardy include anything that comes to mind on a totally arbitrary basis. Almost everything can, in one way or another, be used by the Soviet Army. Take grain for example—soldiers eat bread and pasta products just like old-age pensioners. Even buttons could be considered strategic commodities if they are used, for example, for soldiers' uniforms.

Let me say something else: Of course we want to purchase modern technology from the United States. It would be absurd to waste convertible foreign currency on obsolete products. It must also be borne in mind that the USSR is a country with advanced science and technology where, by the way, Americans buy more licenses than they sell. America has entire enterprises operating on Soviet licenses.

Therefore, the question of Soviet-U.S. trade today is mainly political. The Americans must solve it for themselves.

I don't want to exaggerate. The main element in our relations now and in the foreseeable future is, of course, not trade but the struggle against the threat of nuclear war and the arms race, the problem of regional conflicts, and other security problems. But to successfully advance along all avenues it is necessary to improve the political atmosphere and consolidate trust. Trade relations also develop into questions of politics in this context. If matters continue to develop in the old fashion, we would perceive this as nothing but a manifestation of insincerity, of unchanging hostile U.S. intentions.

Let me qualify this: All I have said in no way means that, in my view, we ourselves have been perfect and that all the blame for the present state of trade and economic relations must rest solely with the United States. No, the sphere of our foreign trade has been distinguished by too much conservatism and, why make a secret of it, is distinguished by it even today. This sphere was also dominated by stagnation, and the most arrant stagnation

at that! Sluggish (and at times not altogether honest) officials, exhausting negotiations on any issue—every deal was achieved at the cost of unbelievable efforts. In this context, I believe there are many fair reprimands that can be made by businessmen in America and in other countries against our organizations. It was said that only a very large and very rich firm could sustain trade with us, especially when a major deal was at stake: Endless travel, red tape, more travel, exhausting negotiations, then travel again, endless revision of documentation, and so on.

We recently embarked on a decisive reform of the foreign economic sphere. Of course, the new system is only just being introduced, but I would like to believe that the demolition of the ossified structures of Soviet organizations' economic collaboration with the world market will become at least one of the real levers of restructuring and will offer completely new opportunities, including opportunities in the sphere of setting up joint enterprises.

This is very important also for the development of economic relations with the United States. The opportunities are great. If both sides try to utilize them, and especially if they do not obstruct this process by discriminatory measures, our trade could become an important factor of bilateral relations with the passage of time.

It is important to emphasize that, from the long-term point of view, the question of trade and economic cooperation between the two countries is extremely important not only for us but also for the United States and for the West as a whole, and it is moreover not certain for whom it is more important. Let me amplify my idea. We live in an epoch of interdependence which is by no means limited to military matters. It also exists in the economic sphere! A rather curious picture develops: A group of developed capitalist countries—the United States, West Europe, Japan—are the world's main producers today. But they are also the main consumers of output, representing virtually the entire market of effective demand. The expansion of this market is much slower than the growth of production capacities. It seems to me that this not only exacerbates competition and encourages the growth of protectionist sentiments, but also creates the threat of serious economic shocks on a worldwide scale.

The reasons are obvious. What is called the world market certainly does not measure up to the description. Look what is happening: The overwhelming majority of developing countries are ceasing to be markets with effective demand, they are in a disastrous position. The debt problem hangs above them like a sword of Damocles. To pay just the interest charges they have to introduce the harshest of "belt-tightening" measures and get even deeper into debt. What sort of purchasers are they in these conditions?

Regarding the socialist countries, the West—having transformed an entire system of measures verging on economic warfare into an organic part of the "cold war"—has itself restricted, sharply restricted, opportunities to trade with them, thus seriously curtailing the sphere of international division of labor.

As a result of all this, international "economic space" has proved to be extremely limited.

Now and again we see attempts by developed capitalist countries to solve the problem through endless modifications of the extremely narrow market they themselves comprise. The United States, for example, tries to exert pressure on its allies, forcing them to cut back exports to America while buying more American goods. This is almost one of America's main political goals! But the EEC and Japan take countermeasures, and the situation as a whole merely deteriorates. Sooner or later this will inevitably lead to economic calamity, if not to catastrophe.

It would seem there is only one way out. It is not to reshape time and again that truncated market which is dubbed the "world" market, but to make it a genuine world market. For this purpose the West must change its policy toward both the developing countries and the USSR and the other socialist countries and finally elaborate a long-term strategy of economic collaboration with them, a strategy based on the long-term view.

I hope there are quite a few farsighted people in America who do or will soon perceive this new reality: The economic and political interdependence of today's world. I think many of them will come to Moscow for the scheduled ASTEC meeting. I know that major U.S. businessmen are interested in the opportunity to develop business cooperation with us and that this interest is based not just on narrow selfish interests and expectations of quick profits, even though these are legitimate interests in trade relations. Our partners will not, of course, turn down profits, and it would be altogether naive to imagine that anyone would trade at a loss for himself. But I know quite a few U.S. businessmen who do not limit themselves to considerations of immediate advantage but think broadly, with scope, on a large scale. Bearing in mind, of course, not our interests but the vital interests of their own country, including its business interests. I think it is good and proper that our interests and the U.S. interests on this issue have noticeably drawn together, that they have much in common. This is a guarantee of future success.

Overall, the sphere of community of Soviet-U.S. interests, which formerly covered only the struggle against the threat of nuclear war, has sharply expanded today. It is a typical feature of world development that in all countries—large and small, poor and rich, developing and developed—domestic, primarily economic, problems have come to the foreground and have become the most urgent and most important ones. In this context, the

most important (and maybe the main one after the task of preventing nuclear war) function of foreign policy today, more than ever before, is to ensure external conditions conducive to the solution of major domestic problems.

This is why today the USSR and the United States are objectively equally interested in reducing military expenditures: The USSR to accelerate restructuring and ensure faster and more successful national economic development, the United States to reduce the inordinate federal budget deficit and national debt and gain an opportunity to consolidate its competitiveness. In the same way, there are common interests—if the essence of matters is correctly perceived—in solving many regional and global problems, developing economic and scientific cooperation, and so on. To put it briefly, common sense demands a transition from confrontation to cooperation. So do the insuperable economic and political realities. Maybe this will help to ultimately accomplish this turnabout.

USIA Disinformation 'Homilies' Criticized

PM201035 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Melor Sturua "Rejoinder" under the "Facts, Events, Opinions" rubric: "Self-Jamming"]

[Text] The USIA recently complained to the U.S. Congress about the incorrigible Russians. The complaint takes the form of a report and is called "Soviet Active Measures in the Era of Glasnost."

What is the subject of the report? The fact that we are continuing to jam Voice of America? Ah, if only we were! The trouble is that we are not jamming it and the airwaves have become an arena for glasnost and, more particularly, the construction material for building television linkups and other bridges between our countries and peoples. Stereotypes are being destroyed and the barriers and accretions of the past and the unproductive confrontation which exacerbated international tension are being cleared away.

This is precisely what is irritating USIA leaders. They are very reluctant to restructure themselves. They are in holy dread of the new political thinking. The knights who hold the patent on words of freedom are flying into a frenzy over our glasnost. I am not exaggerating in the least. The USIA report tells the U.S. Congress bluntly that the "Soviets are carrying sophisticated operations aimed at exerting influence and concentrated on the topics of 'glasnost' and the 'new political thinking' in their bilateral relations with the West."

USIA leaders are indignant about the "much milder tone which the Soviets have begun to adopt."

At first glance, such cries and even complaints appear somewhat strange. Indeed, they do not usually complain about the mildness of our tone but about rudeness. But the leading lights of the U.S. airwaves are angry with us precisely because the spirit of cooperation and mutual understanding and the desire to find a common language have prevailed in our foreign policy activity. They want to continue to exchange insults with us, but we are refusing to reciprocate. So the gentlemen of the USIA think we are not behaving like gentlemen.

In retrospect, I must admit honestly that we are far from innocent. That is why we are restructuring ourselves, that is why we are mastering the new political thinking and renouncing the old. But USIA leaders prefer us as we were. They have developed a kind of nostalgia for our sins, which enabled them to justify their own. Now they have no means of self-justification and are in a rage.

The USIA report accuses us of allegedly trying to "undermine U.S. positions at the arms control talks." In fact—this is illustrated by our efforts to find mutually acceptable solutions to the most complex problems of curbing the arms race—the Soviet Union has no interest in undermining U.S. positions. Our security doctrine, which is of a universal character, resolutely rejects this sort of approach. The logic of mutual interwoven interests in survival is such that by undermining your partner's positions at the talks you are thus undermining your own positions. Surely it is clear that the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles would never have been signed if the Soviet Union was engaged in undermining U.S. positions at the arms control talks?

Of what does the USIA accuse us in its spleenful report? Of trying, and I quote, to "open up a new channel for influencing the Western elite." Why only the elite? We are trying to open new channels and build new bridges to establish ties not only with the Western elite, but also with the broadest circles of the Western public. The USIA accused us just recently of the complete opposite—of erecting an "iron curtain" and of refusing to open it. The USIA report is literally permeated with nostalgia for the "iron curtain." (Incidentally, this nostalgia and longing are distinct confirmation of the correctness of the course along which our society is now proceeding).

Contradicting themselves, the authors of the USIA report, forgetting the "mild tone," accuse us literally a few paragraphs later of the fact that the "malicious campaign of anti-U.S. disinformation and falsehoods is continuing just like before." As we can see, things don't add up here. Nevertheless this disparity has its iron—iron again!—logic. The point is that Voice of America is still being jammed. But this time it is being jammed not by us but by its masters. The self-jamming phenomenon is eloquent evidence of how far the owners of this by no means velvety voice have fallen behind the times. As for

a "malicious campaign of disinformation and falsehoods," it is not for the USIA to deliver homilies on this score. Even Mephistopheles did not accuse his victims of smelling of sulfur.

U.S. Firm Confirms Joint Space Project Plans

PM201001 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 12 Apr 88 First Edition p 3

[Yu. Subbotin article: "Ship Will Take Crystals. U.S. Device Will Operate on 'Mir' Orbital Station"]

[Excerpts] For the first time the U.S. Government has allowed a private American company to carry out scientific research aboard a Soviet space station. A commercial agreement has been reached between Payload Systems Incorporated—the name of the firm—and the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology [Glavkosmos] on the holding of a series of six experiments, during which a U.S. device for making biocrystals will be delivered by the Soviet "Progress" transporter to the "Mir" station. There it will operate under conditions of prolonged weightlessness and, on completion of the experiment, Soviet cosmonauts will return it to earth. The product obtained may ultimately be used to create new medicines. [passage omitted]

Giants such as General Motors and General Electric have called on the U.S. Government to lift the ban on Soviet rockets being used to launch American-made communications satellites. Both concerns have subsidiaries which produce and sell satellites. The reason that has forced them to look eastward is the same: the long interruption in shuttle flights and the string of defects in other kinds of U.S. launchers.

What brought about the government ban? The explanation is not original. The perfidious Russians once again, dreaming of stealing the latest U.S. secret.

Payload Systems was more successful. It had to wait just 4 months for a license from the Department of Commerce. Clearly because it would have been absolutely absurd to see any espionage motive from our side in this situation.

Mark McConnell, a lawyer from the Washington firm of Hogan and Hartson, who dealt with Payload Systems' application for a license, stated quite categorically:

"In this instance our aim is to ensure that America does not lag behind in its technical development."

"Nonetheless," V.Ye. Lukoyanov [senior expert at Glavkosmos] stressed, we guarantee the complete inviolability of the U.S. apparatus. As we agreed, the state of the biological material will be known only to the firm producing it and to the company which will give us a decision on the biological safety of the material. The latter will be a neutral firm—either Soviet or American. It is possible that Payload may be among them, although in principle it is a consultancy firm and an intermediary, its main function being organizational. Upon conclusion of the experiment, which will require the minimum of attention from our cosmonauts, we will just hand over the device to U.S. specialists."

Entrepreneurs and scientists in the United States were enthusiastic about the breakthrough made by Payload Systems. They hope that the license obtained by the firm is an indicator of a relaxation of the U.S. Government's position, which may give the "green light" to new Soviet-U.S. space contracts. The Soviet side would welcome such a turn of events.

"After all, even if we cannot live in space, we will have to work there. We will work better together, by cooperating rather than competing," V.Ye. Lukoyanov said.

I remember my trips with my son on days off to the Washington Air and Space Museum, where there are life-size copies of the docked "Soyuz" and "Apollo" spacecraft. Visitors usually linger beside them. Americans attentively read the notice describing the joint flight.

Alas, not everybody in America today remembers the historic docking in July 1975 and the friendly handshakes in orbit. There were no fears then for the fate of secrets and there were no border posts between the ships.

Yet the spirit of cooperation in space lives on. [passage omitted]

Progress of Presidential Campaign Considered

PM191107 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V. Linnik dispatch: "Election-88: With and Without Sensations"]

[Text] New York, Apr [dateline as published]—"Don't be crazy!" one of my New York acquaintances shouted at me in vexation around 6 months ago when I asked, admittedly, more in jest than in earnest: "What if Jesse Jackson becomes the Democratic presidential candidate? Or running mate?" I was given a short lecture then and there on politics.

Putting the Experts to Shame [subhead]

"You Russians, even specialists, still have a poor idea of the mainsprings behind U.S. domestic policy. The canons of U.S. political life are strict and you don't transgress them. The first one says: America is not ready for a black president.

"And then," my interlocutor began to count on his fingers, not forming a fist as we do but, quite the opposite, unbending them from a clenched fist American-style, "only the post of governor or senator can serve

a springboard to the White House—even a representative 'can't make it.' And Jackson has absolutely no experience of elected office! Even if Jackson were white, his liberalism would nonetheless alienate voters against him. For he is a left-winger among left-wingers.

"True, both right-wingers and left-wingers have, so to speak, a permanent base of support among U.S. voters. But it usually amounts to no more than 10-20 percent of the overall total. You may object that during the primaries this bloc is sometimes very appreciable and effective. But I must point out to you that the U.S. political process, like a mountain stream, during the steep rapids of the primaries jettisons extreme right-wingers and extreme left-wingers and, on bursting out of the ravines, tranquilly heads for the golden mean in the general elections.

"And last," he continued, "Jesse simply doesn't have the money, and you can't get elected anywhere in America without that—you Communists constantly write about this," my interlocutor had almost used up his fistful of fingers.

I, of course, knew all this since I have covered U.S. elections for almost 20 years and could disagree only on details. I could have argued when I was told that radicals do not climb to the top of the political pyramid in America. Indeed they don't, but that only applies to left-wing radicals as a rule. Right-wingers get there—remember Goldwater in 1964 or the Reagan of 1980.

There are also other postulates relating to the elections of which I could have reminded my interlocutor. For instance, I could have mentioned the pendulum swing of U.S. domestic political life, which has been confirmed once again by the eighties: from the maximum swing to the right during the initial period of the Reagan administration to the clear "reassessment of values" during the present election campaign. For it is a fact that the main Democrat contenders are left of center. The difference in views between the two remaining contenders who stand real chances of being nominated (M. Dukakis and J. Jackson) is not visible to the naked eye. The differences are more symbolic: Jackson embraced Y. 'Arafat and Dukakis did not, as a result of which the press, especially the New York press, is depicting the negro clergyman as a dangerous radical. However, and this comes once again from the sphere of U.S. unwritten rules, you can embrace Shamir in America, indeed it is necessary to do so, but you can't embrace 'Arafat, no one will understand.

Although Jackson is lagging behind Dukakis in terms of the number of convention delegates supporting him, the largest number of Democrat voters have voted for him (and not for Dukakis): approximately 3.5 million people. Of the 40 preelection contests held so far, Jackson has been first or second in 30—once again the best indicator. He has won in such dissimilar constituencies as Alabama, Alaska, Michigan, and Louisiana.

Reporters here, who calculate everything with truly American meticulousness, have worked out that every party convention delegate Jackson gains "costs" him far less their delegates cost the other contenders, simply because he has no money. Jackson has spent 20 times less money on television advertising than A. Gore and M. Dukakis each have and has nevertheless come out better than both of them. Finally, here is one of the latest items of news: According to a poll, if Dukakis and Jackson ran on a joint ticket, they would now beat the Republican candidate G. Bush.

What Is the Source of the Sensation? [subhead]

What eventually happened? At first it was clear that the votes cast for Jackson were an echo of protest at 8 years of Reagan neglect of the problems of the national minorities, the urban poor, and the farmers. It is this bloc—the "Rainbow" coalition, as Jackson himself called it—which formed his base of support in the early stages of the campaign. Now up to one-fourth of all white Democrat voters are voting for Jackson in the primaries—this was the case, in particular, in Wisconsin, where only 3 percent of the electorate are black. Although Jackson lost to Dukakis in this state, all the same he gained a quite respectable 28 percent of the vote.

Jackson has thrown down a challenge to Washington, and the populist message never fails in America, where distrust of politicians is almost the central trait of the national character. This was exploited by Carter in 1976 and Reagan in 1980. So Jackson's lack of experience of work in Washington has obviously worked in his favor.

He has talked about fair taxation of corporations and wealthy Americans, reductions in arms and military budgets, and the need to find a just solution to the Near East problem.

Tall with wide-set, almost bulging eyes, a bushy mustache concealing a childishly small mouth, and a strong Southern accent, Jackson stands out against the backdrop of the other contenders, whom the U.S. press nicknamed the "Seven Dwarfs" because of their blandness. He can, as they say here, "work a crowd": It is no coincidence that thousands of voters come to see him whereas only hundreds come to see the others.

The fact that his white rivals in the preelection race did not take him seriously at first and set about "destroying" one another's "reputations" also worked to Jackson's advantage. No one has done more in this respect in the current campaign than the handsome and self-confident A. Gore—the "enfant terrible" of 1988. Having changed not too convincingly from being a moderate to being a conservative hard-liner on defense questions, Gore has preferred to criticize others and has done so extremely unscrupulously.

Jackson's successes are also worrying other conservative Democrats. With Jesse at the top of the Democrat ballot paper, they say to intimidate their party colleagues, we will not only lose the Presidency but also the Senate and possibly the House of Representatives also, they fear.

In order to upset the intrigues of his opponents, who began a "Stop Jackson" campaign, the negro preacher has met with Democratic Party members—C. Clifford, who started out under Truman, White, former chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and a number of others. Old man Clifford issued a challenge after the luncheon: "Jackson has a better head than all the other contenders in the present campaign."

At any rate, the Jackson phenomenon is this year's sensation. He symbolizes the changes which America is now craving.

It is clear already that even if Jackson is not nominated as the presidential candidate he will be one of the most influential figures at the Democratic Convention in July. He will certainly influence the party's election platform: He may be a candidate for the Vice Presidency or hold a very important post in the Democratic administration, if one is formed in November. It is clear that the Democrats will not be able to push him aside so easily without risking defeat in the general elections.

Who's Alongside? [subhead]

Jackson is running neck and neck in the preelection marathon with M. Dukakis, the governor of Massachusetts, who is of Greek origin and on whom the powerful U.S. northeast establishment has gambled. Dukakis is, I repeat, from Massachusetts—a state in which nothing is done in politics without the Kennedy clan.

Dukakis has the most powerful financial base of all the Democrat contenders and has through his Jewish wife connections in extremely influential circles in the country. Among his plus points is his good record as state governor. Unemployment in Massachusetts is only approximately 3 percent and state budget income has long exceeded expenditure.

Dukakis has a reputation as a technocrat, which is, in the voters' eyes, both good and bad at the same time. It is bad because he is accused of lacking emotion; and good since many people in America are inclined to show a preference for competent leaders.

Without Sensations [subhead]

Unlike the Democrats, there have been no sensations in the Republican camp. Although at first it seemed that the preconditions existed for this. After Dole's victory in Iowa, the fate of Bush hung by a thread. At that time, Bush looked terrible.

Polls showed that he would lose to Dole in New Hampshire. Bush recovered from the knockdown and since then Dole has, so to speak, thrown in the towel. It was not ideological differences that played their part in this case—there were none of these—but the contenders' personal qualities. Dole frightened off many people by his rigidity of character. At all events, having spent almost 20 million dollars on his campaign, Dole was left with nothing.

Once in conversation with me, a well-known Republican expressed perplexity as to why Congressman J. Kemp came out so ingloriously in this campaign and why evangelical preacher P. Robertson was so successful at first. For Kemp today is the Reagan of 1980, he said, his truest ideological heir.

That is the case, but Kemp is Reagan without the Reagan sense of humor. And we are in 1988, not 1980, and even Reagan in his views is far from being what he was 8 years ago. As for Robertson, he at first attracted highly moral old people in tennis shoes, who have long been worried about the decline of morality in America and who see AIDS as God's punishment for sins. But later a wave of scandals swept through the country linked not with pastors' elevated pleasures but with the most carnal pleasures. Robertson was swamped by this wave.

At all events, the main outlines of this year's presidential campaign have now emerged. Bush, the indisputable Republican candidate, is trying on Reagan's mantle for size. During the primaries this has been a clear plus for him, since the President enjoys increasing popularity among Republicans. Republican candidates have to their credit the lowest level of unemployment for 10 years and progress in Soviet-U.S relations.

The Democratic candidates embody a protest against 8 years of Reagan rule. It is a protest against the neglect of the interests of the poor and the farmers, continual adventures in Central America, "Star Wars," and incessant corruption in the highest echelons of power. Ultimately, the November election will depend on whether Americans want the present course to continue or whether they want a change of scene.

Experts Report on U.S. Human Rights Talks

PM191141 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[A. Kuvshinnikov report: "Civil Rights: Not Sparring But Businesslike Dialogue Needed"]

[Text] The complex range of human rights problems requires not dangerous propaganda sparring, but thoughtful, self-critical, and businesslike dialogue. That was the tone of the discussion which took place between Soviet and U.S. civil rights specialists in Washington. Having returned from the United States, the Soviet participants in the discussion met with journalists at the USSR Foreign Ministry press center.

"The professional discussion of the questions of interest to the two sides clearly showed that the human rights problem is a common problem," V.F. Yakovlev, director of the USSR Justice Ministry's All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Soviet Law, stated in his opening address.

It is true that the discussion was not without some problems. This time, too, attempts were made to cause confrontation between us. In addition, the legal basis for the professional discussion was felt to be inadequate because the United States has not ratified the most important international pacts and conventions on human rights.

One of the problems under discussion was the principles of the organization of psychiatric help. We have become used to being attacked, whereas the facts show that it is the Americans who need to defend themselves. After all, their population is smaller than ours, yet the number of people in psychiatric clinics is greater there. And most important of all is that specialists have doubts about the diagnoses in a large number of cases. But the attempt to score points off one another can only lead to a deepening of mutual distrust.

At a press conference last year, USSR deputy foreign minister A.L. Adamishin told the following story. To safeguard security, a mentally ill person was removed by the Leningrad militia from the FRG Consulate General there. And the man, whose name was Mayer, was treated less than gently, to put it mildly. As a result, the Consulate General kicked up something of a fuss: They are refusing to let a German speak with his fellow-countrymen, they said. But Mayer was placed in a psychiatric clinic because he had suffered an acute bout of mental illness.

The FRG Consulate General demanded permission to visit the patient in the clinic. And why not? But initially and as usual the Soviet authorities objected, which aroused even greater suspicion. Ultimately two consular officials were allowed to see for themselves that this really was a case of a mentally ill person and that he didn't know a word of German. After that their interest in him cooled instantly.

Did it do the two sides any good to aggravate the situation like that? And did this mentally ill person really present such a great threat to the security of the consulate's staffers that he had to be dealt with so abruptly? Hardly. The approach to the solution of such questions is changing now.

"During the discussion in Washington," G.N. Melekhin, leader of the Scientific-Medical Information Department of the Serbskiy All-Union Scientific Research Institute of General and Forensic Psychiatry, said, "primary attention was paid to legal aspects of organizational psychiatry, that is, the legal acts guaranteeing the protection of the rights of the mentally ill and the procedure for compulsory hospitalization of patients. This is the most sensitive and difficult aspect of psychiatrists' professional work.

"All the participants were of the opinion that the problems that exist should not divide or alienate us. We must not accuse one another, but try to resolve these problems together."

"In disputed cases, will you allow Western experts to visit your hospitals?" a correspondent from the Italian newspaper IL MESSAGGERO asked bluntly.

"It goes without saying," G.N. Melekhin replied, "that our foreign colleagues will be allowed to visit Soviet psychiatric hospitals, speak to patients, and discuss diagnoses with Soviet doctors.

"The improvement of the legal system and the work of the law enforcement organs as a whole remain a major and extremely topical problem in the sphere of protecting the population's civil rights."

"Work is now in progress," said V.A. Vlasikhin, leader of the legal problems group of the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of the United States of America and Canada Institute, "on a reform of Soviet criminal law aimed at making it more humane.

"In the United States, conversely, the activity of the law enforcement organs is clearly becoming harsher. Whereas our judges have begun taking a far more balanced approach to sentencing practice, in America sentences have increased by an average of one-third in the past 7 years alone."

IZVESTIYA: You have compared two trends. But do these processes not merely reflect the fact that the Soviet legal system became excessively harsh in the thirties and forties?

V.A. Vlasikhin: The reform of criminal law in the late fifties and early sixties was aimed at restoring the legal norms distorted during the years of the personality cult. However, during the seventies, more than 200 additions were made to the Criminal Law, including stiffer penalties.

As for the United States, the toughening up of criminal policy began when the Nixon administration came to power. For example, it includes permitting the hearing in court of evidence obtained unlawfully. Our reform is aimed at creating the maximum guarantees to preclude such a situation.

By mutual agreement the participants in the Washington dialogue devoted considerable time to a discussion of the problem of the legality of the death penalty as the supreme punishment. The question developed from the fact that in 28 U.S. states it is permitted even for minors.

In this respect the United States is one of a quite exclusive group of countries which otherwise consists solely of Barbados, Pakistan, and Iran.

V.A. Vlasikhin: According to a U.S. public opinion poll, around 80 percent of the population favor the retention of the death penalty for the most serious crimes. In our country, according to some statistics, 90 percent share that view.

Unfortunately, some of the legal statistics relating to death sentences are still unavailable to us here, although the policy of glasnost provides for extensive information to be made available to society. Under the RSFSR Criminal Code, the death penalty may be applied in more than 20 categories of crime. The criminal law is now being reformed, particularly with a view to limiting the scope for applying the death penalty.

PHILADELPHIA INQUIRER: What ways do you have for carrying out the death sentence?

V.F. Yakovlev: We have only one form of death penalty—death by shooting.

V.A. Vlasikhin: Whereas in the United States, they have such means as hanging, the gas chamber, and injections with chemical substances. A sort of pluralism, I suppose....

IZVESTIYA: It is planned to ease the criminal law in the sphere of violations of economic law and crimes against the individual. Will the lessening of the punishment for theft, murder, and grievous bodily harm not lead to an increase in such crimes?

V.F. Yakovlev: There is among the population indeed a quite widespread notion that the easing of penalties could cause an increase in the number of violations of the law, particularly of offenses against the person.

But the vast majority of criminologists and criminal law specialists hold the opposite viewpoint. They believe that the effectiveness of the campaign against breaking the law is determined not so much by making punishments harsher, but by ensuring the inevitability of punishment.

China

People's Congress Group Debates Reported

PM200901 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch: "China. NPC Session: Wide-Ranging Discussions"]

[Text] Beijing—Zeng Tao, who has been in charge of all news conferences at the first session of the National People's Congress [NPC], Seventh Convocation, has announced: "This time it is not only plenary sessions and news conferences that lie in store for my journalist friends. You can attend group discussions...."

Groups of deputies, formed on a territorial basis and not too large as a rule, discuss fundamental problems of society's life in the breaks between plenary sessions. Deputies make suggestions and critical remarks, and express opinions. The XINHUA teletype, newspapers, and television regularly report what is happening at these sessions. Observers note the increased critical nature of discussions.

Zhao Ziyang, general secretary of the CPC Central Committee, spoke during the Beijing delegation's discussion of the government report.

His speech was devoted to the structure of the population's nutrition. In his opinion, and in order to contain the excessive consumption of grains which has become the norm, it is necessary to change the structure of nutrition. The root of the problem lies in the fact that the growth of grain consumption exceeds the growth of grain production. The huge population and the comparatively limited area of arable land are historical realities which cannot be substantially changed. Therefore, despite the great importance which the government attaches to the development of agriculture, solving this problem in the immediate future is hardly probable, Zhao Ziyang believes.

Forecasts testify: Even if gross grain harvest were to reach 500 million tonnes in the 12 years until the end of the century (a task of exceptional difficulty), the per capita consumption of grain will fall (taking into account the projected population numbers of up to 1.25 billion by the year 2000). Another problem is the fact that people's living standards are rising and they spend a considerable proportion of their incomes on food.

A recent sociological poll showed that improved quality of nutrition is the primary concern of 37.5 percent of citizens, with only 3.4 percent giving priority to the purchase of an apartment and 2.9 percent to improved quality of clothing. Such are the realities of Chinese life, and consequently the structure of nutrition must be adapted to them. Otherwise, the deputies believe, there will be problems with raw materials supplies. Now is the time to elaborate a policy for changing the structure of nutrition; otherwise, the country will suffer the consequences of yet another grave mistake (no attention was given to the need to control the excessive population growth in the fifties). The main stress in implementing the new policy, deputies concluded, will be placed on informing and educating the population and on the practice of scientific nutrition methods.

The territorial group of deputies from Hubei Province also discussed the report on the government's work. There were 2 hours of arguments and counterarguments, calm deliberations, and emotional explosions. Hubei

Province is an important grain production and cotton growing base. Naturally, agricultural problems were at the center of discussions. Deputies appreciated the fact that the exposition of the 10 main tasks facing the PRC State Council in Li Peng's report begins with the need for utmost development of agriculture. True enough, one deputy complained that insufficient stress had been placed on the actual heights which have to be scaled. There was talk about the need to increase state capital investments in agriculture and to increase subsidies for those who produce grain and cotton. There must be a thorough investigation, deputies stressed, to find out why prosperous peasants at times build two- and three-story homes without being eager to invest money in production. There was talk about confidence and stability ("people must be confident that investments are actually being channeled into agriculture").

"Price reform is inevitable," Deputy Xiang Xinran, a construction engineer, said, "but thought must naturally be given to social consequences. Subsidies must be given only to those whose living standards will actually decline; otherwise, there will be a revival of the old 'big pot' mentality." Xiang Xinran devoted the concluding part of his speech to the moral climate in society. "All the time we are talking about efficiency and expediency. Economic problems must not supplant moral problems. We cannot allow indifference to become the norm of life. We must resolutely oppose the 'it's nothing to do with me' mentality." "The main point," the deputy said with conviction, "is not how many 'civilized yard' or 'civilized street' plaques we will put up. The criterion is the actual standard of civilization."

Deputies from Sichuan Province addressed an appeal to all session deputies to make a real contribution toward improving the moral climate in society: To eradicate bureaucratism, to demonstrate a fitting and honest style of work, and to selflessly serve people. This appeal, the authors believe, must be published so that deputies' lives can be supervised by the whole of society.

Deputies from Guangdong Province suggested the elaboration of a draft law on railroad safety. The series of recent serious accidents which involved loss of human life have profoundly alarmed everyone. Too much attention to economic profit, too little attention to improving professional skills. The discussion participants condemned the bad style of management on the railroads, the worn-out equipment, and the lack of rigid discipline.

Deputies in other groups spoke of the need to increase appropriations in the education sphere (unless this is done, it will be difficult to pursue the policy of universal 9-grade education). They also spoke of the difficulties in implementing the concept: Just one child per peasant family (a family working on contract needs a male workforce, and what happens if the child is a girl?...).

Problems, problems, problems.... While the information at the start of the NPC session's work was read out, foreign journalists were now offered for the first time an opportunity "to hear the information for themselves."

Foreign Ministry Officials Give News Conference

PM191603 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents A. Krushinskiy and G. Arslanov dispatch: "Debate Continues"]

[Text] Beijing, 8 Apr—The first session of the Chinese National People's Congress [NPC], Seventh Convocation, is continuing here. The delegates elected PRC state leaders today by secret ballot.

Yang Shangkun was elected PRC president. He is a prominent political figure in the republic. He is 81 years old.

Wang Li was elected chairman of the NPC Standing Committee. He was born in 1916 and entered revolutionary work in the thirties.

The 83-year-old Deng Xiaoping, the "main architect of the Chinese reform," is again chairman of the PRC Central Military Council.

Over the last few days, aside from discussions held within the framework of the PRC supreme organ of state power, the attention of Chinese and foreign journalists accredited at the session has been drawn by a number of news conferences.

Wu Xueqian, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and PRC foreign minister, and Qian Qichen, PRC deputy foreign minister, gave speeches to the mass media representatives. China is not entering into alliances or establishing strategic relations with any major power, it was noted at the news conference.

China welcomes the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, Wu Xueqian stated, expressing the hope that a Soviet-U.S. accord will be achieved on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive armaments. However, the achievement of this accord is not synonymous with a considerable reduction in the nuclear arms of the USSR and the United States, which possess an overwhelming number of nuclear armaments in the world, he said. China believes that they bear particular responsibility in this context and must be the first to sharply reduce their nuclear armaments. These major nuclear powers must cease the development, testing, production, and siting of all types of nuclear weapons and end the arms race. Given compliance with these conditions, China is prepared to take part in a representative international conference on further nuclear disarmament.

Asked about China's attitude to new elements in resolving the Afghan problem, the minister, drawing attention to M.S. Gorbachev's statement on Afghanistan, expressed the hope that after the withdrawal of Soviet troops from that country a coalition will be created there and that Afghanistan will be a nonaligned state. Referring to Chinese-U.S. relations, Wu Xueqian noted the "achievement of definite progress" during his recent visit to the United States, which helped to "ease the bad atmosphere" which had existed in relations between the two countries since the second half of last year.

The NPC session is entering its final stage.

PRAVDA Welcomes Outcome of NPC Session

PM191325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[Report by PRAVDA and TASS special correspondents A.Krushinskiy and G. Arslanov: "Dynamics of Change" under rubric "China: Notes on National People's Congress Session"]

[Text] Beijing-Moscow, 18 Apr—The first session of the National People's Congress (NPC), Seventh Convocation, was at work in the PRC capital for almost 3 weeks. The importance of this forum was largely determined by the importance of the period in which the country is now living. It is clear from the reports discussed at the session and from deputies' speeches that the 5-year period of office of the preceding NPC convocation was characterized by high, steady economic growth rates. Take last year, 1987, for example: GNP increased by almost 10 percent, exceeding 1 trillion yuan for the first time, and industrial output increased by 16.5 percent.

These figures are no abstraction: It is enough to see the new, modern plants, the rapidly growing residential areas, store windows, or simply people's faces to realize just how fruitful the policy of reform is being. However, these successes are accompanied by problems. Some of these problems—persisting unemployment, for example, and the low literacy level—have been inherited from the past. But there are also problems which have been "acquired," so to speak—born in the course of restructuring.

It was noted at the session that in 1987 alone retail prices throughout the country rose by 7 percent. And although the population's income is mainly growing at an increasing rate, prices cannot fail to be a source of serious concern among the people. A number of deputies also drew attention to the fact that it would be desirable to develop foreign economic ties more broadly and on a more practical basis (avoiding spending money, in particular, on expensive limousines from the capitalist market).

Or another problem: Some cadre workers have not stood the "tests of the reform," as people say here in China, and have succumbed to various temptations, as a result of which there has been a marked increase in economic crimes, bribe-taking, and extravagance.

Leaders of the CPC and economists are aware of these problems and certainly have no intention of retreating under pressure from them. "Regarding the problems arising in the course of the reform, they must be removed by deepening and improving the reform itself," it was stated in the report on government work.

You can judge the degree of consistency in implementing economic and political restructuring by the new laws approved at the NPC session. One of these laws concerns nationally owned industrial enterprises. We were able to satisfy ourselves that interest in these enterprises is indeed universal by visiting industrial enterprises in a number of Chinese cities during the session.

...The Harbin Flax Combine is the biggest in its sector and, incidentally, one of the pioneers of Soviet-Chinese cooperation. It is, as people say here, a "hard currency enterprise," since 90 percent of its output is exported.

"We are familiar with the basic provisions of the draft law on the enterprise," Zhao Bingxin, director of the combine, told us. "What is more, we are essentially already putting them into practice."

The enterprise has a large party organization: One in five members of the collective is a Communist. Zhao Bingxin pointed out:

"Unlike the capitalist system, our large plants belong to all the people. But in line with the new directives, the directors are fully responsible for their enterprise. I have signed a contract for 3 years, under the conditions of which I am committed to guaranteeing a profit."

"What kind of figure are we talking about, if it is not a secret?"

"Ten percent per annum."

The law on nationally owned industrial enterprises was approved on the last day of work by the NPC session. The forum approved a total of 11 resolutions and decisions. They are aimed at deepening the economic reform and the policy of developing foreign economic ties and at ensuring the practical embodiment of the theory evolved by the 13th CPC Congress that China is in the initial stage of socialism. In particular, the session approved the plan for economic and social development and the state budget for 1988, and decided to establish a new province, Hainan, and the Hainan special economic region, which will make extensive use of foreign capital investment. The number of ministries and committees has been reduced from 45 to 41. The session approved a law on enterprises based on the principles of cooperation

with foreign entrepreneurs. The amendments introduced to the PRC Constitution legalize the development of private enterprise within the established limits and also the possibility of citizens transferring rights to the use of land. All the approved documents were carefully discussed at the session. For example, when discussing the report on government work deputies made some 100 amendments to the text.

The novelty of the forum now ended was apparent not only in the new laws but also in the fact that its work was conducted differently in many respects. Members of the NPC Standing Committee were elected on a multimandate basis for the first time. Deputies were more forthcoming and expressive when voicing their opinions. Readers are probably interested to know which subjects prompted disputes at the session. Here is one interesting episode. During the election of members to the NPC commission responsible for education, science, culture, and public health care, Deputy Huang Shunxin opposed the nomination of 89-year-old Zhou Gucheng to the post of chairman: At such an advanced age, he said, he could not possibly be really in control of the work. The majority, however, still voted in favor, although 8 deputies voted against and 69 abstained. After the voting Huang Shunxin was surrounded by journalists.

"The fact that the session participants are not afraid of different opinions and the mass media are devoting such attention to this shows the progress made in the democratization of our life," he said.

It is indeed true that the public has been informed on the session's progress much more broadly than has ever been the case in the past. What is more, the idea was expressed repeatedly during the sessions that the mass media must be further galvanized and their control functions enhanced: Glasnost, one may say, is becoming a universal requirement in the world of socialism. It is indicative that while the NPC session was in progress the Beijing press felt it necessary to publicly condemn one example of criticism being suppressed.

...In the small town of Wuwei (Gansu Province) the newspaper WUWEI BAO held a "roundtable" of city people's congress deputies to discuss local shortcomings and omissions. The newspaper produced a detailed report, but, feeling the criticism to be "excessively bold," the city authorities demanded that the journalists...buy up the entire edition and then publish a different one "instead of" the edition that had been stopped. Incidents like these have been condemned in the capital. Many NPC deputies have defined criticism of shortcomings and omissions as a necessary condition of implementing the reform program.

The forum procedure gave a very important role to group discussions. Incidentally, foreign correspondents were allowed to attend some of these discussions for the first time in NPC history.

...The Xinjiang Hall of the House of People's Congresses. Some 60 NPC deputies were discussing the report on government work. Many of them were wearing national dress. The speeches and rejoinders spoken in Uigur were simultaneously translated into Chinese.

"The policy of developing the maritime regions and opening them up to the outside world is correct," Deputy Huang Baozhang said. "However, we must also focus our attention on the development of the western and southwestern regions. The eastern, northern, and southern 'gates' have been opened, and we must do the same in the west."

Pointing out that their autonomous region borders on five countries, deputies emphasized the need to develop ties with them and particularly with the Soviet Union.

The NPC session substantially renewed the membership of state and government authorities in the PRC. Yang Shangkun, the new president of the PRC; Wan Li, the new chairman of the NPC Standing Committee; and also Deng Xiaoping, the "chief architect" of Chinese restructuring, reelected chairman of the PRC Central Military Commission, are veterans of the Chinese Revolution. It is clear from official biographies distributed by XINHUA that all three were the victims of persecution during the "Cultural Revolution." As far as the State Council is concerned, the majority of its members are representatives of a younger generation.

It must be said that deputies at the NPC session devoted considerable attention to meetings with journalists accredited to the press center. At one such meeting, questioning the PRC foreign minister, a Chinese colleague noted in particular that, according to his calculations, the foreign policy section of the report at the 13th CPC Congress comprised a total of 500 characters whereas the same section of the report at the NPC session ran to 5,000 characters. We will not attempt to judge the accuracy of this calculation. But it is a fact that international problems occupied a prominent place at the forum.

The session noted that PRC foreign policy has been amended on the basis of the "gratifying changes which have taken place in recent years in the international climate and on the basis of the interests of ensuring a peaceful international atmosphere conducive to the socialist modernization of the PRC." It was reaffirmed that, together with other peace-loving forces, China will struggle for an end to the arms race, a complete ban on nuclear and chemical weapons and all other types of mass destruction weapons and their eventual elimination, and a considerable reduction in conventional arms.

One cannot fail to see that in this question of principle, which affects the vital interests of all mankind, the course followed by China essentially coincides with the course taken by the Soviet Union and other socialist states. In this respect many observers believe that the

PRC has not yet exhausted its potential for more active participation in the disarmament process, particularly as it is one of the five nuclear powers and a member of the UN Security Council. A positive element of Chinese foreign policy is obviously that the PRC is also in favor of a political settlement of regional conflicts.

The government report and news conferences again discussed the so-called "three obstacles" in the way of normalizing interstate relations between the USSR and the PRC and made the possibility of a meeting between the two countries' leaders conditional on a solution to the Cambodian problem. At the same time, deputies' speeches and personal conversations with us revealed China's active, sincere interest in further expanding multilateral cooperation between the Soviet Union and China.

The first session of the NPC, Seventh Convocation, is expected to play an important role in PRC life. It has consolidated the policy of economic reforms with a series of new legislative acts. The state's peace-loving aspirations have been reaffirmed. A new step has been taken in improving socialist democracy. The fundamental directives of the 13th CPC Congress to develop and deepen economic and political restructuring now have the force of the constitution behind them.

Joint Technical Training Accords Lauded

OW190951 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0100 GMT 10 Apr 88

[Talk by station observer Dmitriyev]

[Text] Dear listeners and friends: We have reported that the second conference of the Soviet-Sino Working Group for Educational Cooperation ended in Moscow a few days ago. The two sides discussed increasing the number of participants in student exchange study, training, and research. The two sides also reached an agreement on expanding direct ties between institutions of higher learning in similar specialized fields. They will exchange lecturers and organize symposiums in order to exchange mutual experiences in educational reforms.

Other issues discussed at the Soviet-Sino Educational Working Group meeting include cooperation to train technical workers. I believe this certainly is an urgent issue. During the pursuit of modernizing production in our two countries, there is a need to energetically promote new technology and scientific and technological advancements; otherwise, we will be unable to accelerate our two countries' economic development. At the same time, the need for a large contingent of highly-skilled workers familiar with modern technology has also increased immeasurably: Work performed by workers is becoming similar to that done by engineers and technicians. The function of workers in production has also become more important. The reliance on individual contributions, technical standards, and positive knowledge of every worker for the final results at factories has also greatly increased. This makes it clear that we must earnestly train more skilled workers.

The Soviet Union's vocational-technical training system has been in existence for many decades. Some 7,800 vocational-technical schools help train skilled workers in every field of our national economy. The Soviet Union extensively exchanges its experience on vocational-technical training with many countries and has very close ties with socialist countries with regard to vocational-technical training and their systems. The Soviet Union will soon resume cooperation with China in this realm.

Sekelinikev, an official of the Soviet vocational-technical education system told me: The Soviet Union and China have a long tradition of cooperation in vocational-technical training, beginning in the fifties. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the training of workers was a very urgent mission for young China, which had just embarked on the road to establishing an industrialized socialist foundation. During that period thousands of Chinese workers learned new technology and mastered new jobs at Soviet enterprises and training centers. In China, hundreds of Soviet experts helped Chinese workers learn new specialized skills. Now the plan to train workers through Soviet-Sino educational cooperation will be realized. In addition, leaders from the two countries' vocational-technical training departments will visit each other. The relevant basic policies for cooperation have been determined. A few days ago these issues were specifically determined in Moscow and will become the supplement to the Soviet-Sino educational cooperation plan for 1988 to 1990. First, there will be a continued exchange of delegations in specialized fields to exchange experiences in workers' training. Second, the All-Soviet Research Center for Vocational-Technical Training Methods and Leningrad's All-Soviet Vocational-Technical Educational Workers Institute will establish direct ties with institutions of higher learning and corresponding centers and organizations in China.

In this connection, a few days ago the first group of Chinese experts arrived at the institute in Leningrad to begin studies. Most of them are principals of vocational-technical schools. The study period will be 2 months. Furthermore, we have also reached agreement with China that if this sort of study is beneficial, China will send more experts and the period of study and investigation will be lengthened. Beginning this academic year, Soviet teacher-training colleges for secondary schools of specialized industries and teacher-training colleges for engineering schools, as well as institutions of higher learning and departments specializing in training teachers for a vocational-technical education system, will begin to accept Chinese students.

In consideration of the vast vistas for educational cooperation between the two countries, the Soviet Union has also made proposals to help Chinese students come to

the Soviet Union for specialized study of the Russian language. Some of our Russian language teachers will go to China to work. In addition, in order to help accomplish this mission, we will supply China with classroom learning kits for language studies and necessary technical equipment for the study of language and literature.

Sekelinikev said in conclusion: These are only the first few steps along the road of ever-expanding ties between our two countries. However, at present our Chinese counterparts are filled with confidence and are looking to the future, wishing to solve and discuss problems ahead, such as how to expand contacts between vocational-technical schools in the border regions of the two countries. As these ties are expanded there will be great possibilities for exchanges of experiences and increases in contacts between students and teachers. We can also organize joint exhibitions, vocational-technical competition, sports meets among youths, and cultural activities. I think all of these will come about. This is mainly because we and our Chinese counterparts envision such a prospect, and we have the ability and desire to work to further develop Soviet-Sino cooperation and strengthen our friendship.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

Afghan Accord Impact on Cambodia Noted

BK190935 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Vladimir Korolev commentary]

[Text] The Cambodian Government has once again announced an amnesty for any opposition party member who consents to lay down his arms. A Phnom Penh radio broadcast stressed that anyone who crosses over to the side of the people's power will be guaranteed the rights enjoyed by all ordinary citizens. What comment can we make on this latest development? Like it or not, this invites comparison with the situation in Afghanistan. This view was expressed by our commentator, Comrade Vladimir Korolev, who added:

In Cambodia, there are also armed opposition groups that continue to fight against the legal power in Phnom Penh. At the same time, reality has shown that, as the new wave of political thinking makes itself felt everywhere, various acute global problems and regional conflicts, such as the Cambodia problem, can no longer be settled through the use of arms or force. Keeping in mind the interests of all parties concerned—in other words, it is this fact that determines the new attitude toward the solution of problems—the Cambodian Government has issued a national reconciliation program in which it offers its compatriots who, for different reasons, have drifted abroad or into enemy camps, the opportunity to return to their native land where they are promised the rights destined for all Cambodian citizens.

This point is not unlike the situation in Afghanistan, where the national reconciliation policy became a factor in working toward the signing of the Geneva agreement on political settlement. The program set forth by Phnom Penh also envisions the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Cambodia, creation of a coalition government, and general elections in the country. In order to discuss these issues and others, Phnom Penh has proposed to the opposition Khmer groups that a dialogue be started.

A representative of an opposition group, namely Samdech Norodom Sihanouk, was invited to take part in such talks along with representatives from other groups, with the exception of Pol Pot and his closest lieutenants who were condemned for slaughtering 3 million Cambodians. Two meetings were held with Samdech Sihanouk by Comrade Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government. According to the views of both sides, a number of important issues were resolved. From reports we have received, such talks will surely be resumed. All the obstacles are, of course, not going to be erased right off. However, as an Oriental saying goes, all paths must start from the first few steps, and such steps have already been made.

Let us hope that the undoing of the Afghan knot will have a positive impact on both settlement of the Cambodian problem and resolution of other regional conflicts.

Communique on Ceausescu Visit to Vietnam Issued

LD191911 Moscow TASS in English 1837 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Hanoi April 19 TASS—Restraining the arms race and passing over to disarmament in the interests of ensuring lasting peace and international security is the all-important task of the age of ours, stresses a joint Vietnamese-Romanian communique upon an official friendly visit to Vietnam of Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Vietnam and Romania welcome the signing of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on Eliminating Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, evaluating it as an event of historic importance, the document says. The sides declared for stepping up efforts aimed at concluding an agreement on a 50 per cent reduction in strategic offensive armaments, banning nuclear tests and space militarization, abolishing completely nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

The sides praised efforts to strengthen peace and security in Pacific region, underscored the need to continue the dialogue between the Indochinese states and the ASEAN countries in the interests of promoting cooperation and mutual understanding, creating an atmosphere of peace and stability in South-East Asia. In view of this, they

favoured a political settlement of the Kampuchean question on the basis of national reconciliation, respect for the interests of the Kampuchean people, non-interference from outside, forming a peaceful, independent, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

They emphasized the need to carry through the efforts to normalize relations between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of China, bridge differences between those countries through dialogue and non-use of force.

During the talks held Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee, and Nicolae Ceausescu expressed the wish further to expand and give new strength to relations between Vietnam and Romania to the benefit of the two countries' peoples, in the interests of the cause of peace and socialism.

They agreed in part to boost commerce and economic cooperation between the two countries in industry, agriculture and other areas. The sides emphasized the importance of consolidating party links, maintaining regular contacts between government institutions and public organisations of Vietnam and Romania. A determination was expressed to continue making contribution to implementing the comprehensive programme of scientific-technical progress of the CMEA countries for the period ending in 2000.

Near East & South Asia

Reactions to Gulf War Developments Reported

Iran Requests UN 'Measures'

LD192116 Moscow TASS in English 2046 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 19 TASS—Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati has sent a letter to U.N. secretary-general. The message calls upon the world community to denounce the United States' new act of aggression against Iran, which by and large is in conflict with the U.N. Charter and is sequel to the United States adventurism. We hope that urgent preventive measures will be taken to avert such crimes in the future, says the letter which was circulated as a document of the U.N. Security Council today.

Velayati described the U.S. deliberate acts of aggression against Iran, specifically the attacks on Iranian oil platforms and also the United States provocative conduct in the Persian Gulf as evidence of the U.S. adventurist and expansionist policy in the region.

The United States military presence in the Persian Gulf, contrary to its arguments, not only failed to strengthen security in the region but actually increasingly undermines the safety of the international waterway, he stressed.

These deliberate acts of aggression are the most serious violation of peace and pose a serious threat to regional and international security, the letter by Iran to the United Nations says.

Iran UN Envoy Condemns Attack

LD200853 Moscow TASS in English 0735 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 20 TASS—Ja'far Mohammad Mahalati, acting permanent representative of Iran at the United Nations, has wrathfully condemned the United States for attacking the Iranian oil platforms in the Persian Gulf.

During a press conference on Tuesday, he emphasized, in particular, that the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf on the plea of protecting navigation increased tension there still further in actual fact.

The United States, the Iranian representative said, has brought unfounded accusations against Iran that it allegedly plants mines in the Gulf waters.

The U.S. aggression against Iran's sovereignty constitutes an obvious breach of the principles of international law as well as a blow at Resolution 598 of the U.N. Security Council, Mr Mahalati pointed out.

The United States should bear the entire responsibility for the on-going escalation of tension in the Persian Gulf, he said.

Shamir Supports Actions

LD200844 Moscow TASS in English 0645 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Damascus April 20 TASS—Israel's Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir has said that he fully supports U.S. naval attacks on Iranian oil platforms in the Persian Gulf. According to reports reaching here, at a meeting with U.S. Ambassador in Israel Thomas Pickering Yitzhak Shamir said that had Israel been in the U.S. place, it would have acted likewise. The American diplomatic representative, according to Radio Jerusalem, highly appreciated the Israeli Government's support.

The Syrian newspaper AL-THAWRAH, commenting today on U.S. attacks at Iranian off-shore structures, underlined that one of Washington's aims was to divert the world public opinion from Tel Aviv's crimes in the occupied Arab lands. From Shamir's and Pickering's pronouncements it is clear that the two states which concluded the treaty "on strategic cooperation" a few years ago really understand each other well, particularly in the question of their aggressive actions in the region.

Kuwaiti Aircraft Hijacking Developments Noted

Kuwait Resists 'Blackmail'

LD200212 Moscow TASS in English 2313 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Exactly two weeks have passed since the hijacking of the Kuwaiti Boeing-747 airliner with passengers on board by armed air pirates. The terrorists demand the release of 17 prisoners kept in Kuwaiti jails for setting off explosions which claimed a toll of human lives. The hijackers are now keeping 31 passengers as hostages. The criminals killed two persons in recent days.

The past twenty four hours did not lead to any results at the talks being conducted at the Algiers International Airport, where the airliner is staying, by Algerian mediators between the hijackers and the Kuwaiti delegation.

The Kuwaiti side firmly adheres to its stand not to yield to the hijackers' blackmail, and is insisting that Algeria should not allow the hijackers to fly out of the country.

Journalists who are at the airport of the Algerian capital are of the opinion that the talks have reached deadlock. They point out that the position of hostages becomes unbearable. Medical specialists' estimates are that the passengers of the airliner for too long have been in a state of continuous emotional stress which may have an adverse effect of their health.

The members of the Kuwaiti national soccer team expressed readiness to take the place of the 31 passengers held hostage in the Kuwaiti airliner. "We have already telexed our offer to those who are negotiating with the hijackers", stated team leader Shaykh Fahad al-Sabah. According to a report by Malaysia radio, the 52-member team received a permission from the amir of Kuwait to make the offer. The Kuwaiti soccer players are now in Kuala Lumpur as participants in the qualifying games for the Asia soccer cup.

The British newspaper INDEPENDENT points out today that the latest developments in the Middle East has made it still more difficult to resolve the conflict involving the hijacked Kuwaiti airliner. The assassination of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] and the American attack on the Iranian oil platforms will quite definitely be viewed by the terrorists as a blow at those values which they believe in, the newspaper writes. In such a situation it is still more difficult to convince the hijackers of the need to release the hostages.

One of Beirut radio stations has reported that U.S. Lieutenant Colonel William Higgins, chief of the U.N. Observer Group, who had been kidnapped in Lebanon by militants of the pro-Iranian Hezballah organisation, was killed. Several days ago the group had threatened to do away with Higgins if a hostage-rescue operation would be mounted against the hijacked Kuwaiti airliner.

Passengers Freed

LD200551 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Algiers April 20 TASS—The passengers of the Boeing-747 airliner of the Kuwaiti Airways Corporation, who had been taken hostage by terrorists who had hijacked the airliner 16 days ago, were released at 05.00 GMT today. This was announced by El Hadi Khediri, the Algerian minister of the interior.

There were 31 hostages on board the airliner by that time. The minister did not say anything about further fate of the hijackers of the airliner.

Further Reaction to Al-Wazir Assassination

PRAVDA Report

PM191551 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent S. Filatov report: "Vile Assassination"]

[Text] Algiers, 16 Apr—Khalil al-Wazir, member of the Fatah Central Committee and deputy commander in chief of the Palestinian Revolutionary Forces, was vilely assassinated in a suburb of the Tunisian capital at about 0130 hours this morning.

A group of seven persons, including one woman, forced their way into the garden of the house where Al-Wazir lived with his family. Two of the Palestinian leader's bodyguards and his driver were killed during the exchange of fire between the attackers and the guards. Kh. al-Wazir himself was mortally wounded. He died on the way to hospital. His wife and children who were also at home were unhurt.

Palestinians' initial reaction to the act of terrorism was one of anger. They accuse Israel of planning and committing this act. This was announced, for example, by the PLO representative in Paris.

Tunisia Requests UN Meeting

LD191925 Moscow TASS in English 1904 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] New York April 19 TASS—Tunisia today demanded an urgent meeting of the U.N. Security Council in connection with the assassination of Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] member of the PLO Executive Committee, by Israeli agents in its territory.

The Tunisian permanent ambassador to the United Nations, Ahmed Ghezal, said in his letter to the Security Council president that the council should urgently consider the situation in the light of the latest act of aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Tunisia.

The letter pointed out that Israel had committed several similar aggressive actions against Tunisia. The Tunisian Government stressed the urgent need for condemning resolutely Israel's terrorist act and adopting strict measures to curb such actions in the future.

U.N. Security Council Members will have consultations tomorrow to consider Tunisia's request.

Israeli 'Terrorism' Condemned

LD200839 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—The fact that the decision on the assassination of prominent Palestinian leader Abu Jihad [Khalil al-Wazir] was taken by the Israeli cabinet is another proof that Israel has elevated terrorism to the rank of its state policy, says a statement by the Committee for Friendship and Solidarity with the Arab people of Palestine, circulated here today.

The Soviet public expresses indignation at such cynical flouting of norms of human morale and a blatant challenge to the entire international community from Tel Aviv.

Screening behind the campaign of lies and slanders against the PLO, Tel Aviv regularly employs terrorist methods to destroy the leadership of this organization, Palestinian politicians coming out against the Israeli occupation, writers and journalists laying bare piratic methods of "pacification" of Palestinians by the Israeli Zionists. The Israeli occupiers are seeking to suppress the Palestinian population who rose in revolt on the occupied territories, with the "mailed fist" of mass terror and reprisals. More than 150 Palestinians have been killed, hundreds have been wounded and injured. Incidentally, decisions on mass punitive actions are taken by top Israeli leaders.

The stand of Washington "champions of human rights" also provokes indignation, since they keep mum concerning Israeli crimes. At the same time they fall over their heads to block attempts by the U.N. Security Council to bring Israel to reason, the statement points out.

The death of Abu Jihad, as well as hundreds of other Palestinians who fell at the hands of Israeli murderers, will not stop the struggle of Palestinian people for freedom, independence and self-determination, says the statement.

Israeli Motive for Slaying

PM201355 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Own correspondent Yu. Glukhov report under the "Background to Events" rubric: "Links in A Single Chain"]

[Excerpts] Beirut, 19 Apr—The traces of the crime committed in Tunis lead to Tel Aviv. The murder of Palestinian leader Khalil al-Wazir (Abu Jihad) is the handiwork of Israeli agents. This conclusion, reached from the very outset by the world public, is confirmed by evidence of various kinds. [passage omitted]

The French newspaper LE MONDE calls Khalil al-Wazir's murder a "major political blunder" by Israel. A blunder or malicious intent? The impression is that the more persistently the international community seeks ways to achieve a Middle East settlement, the more actively Israeli extremist circles try to wreck that process.

Tripartite Conference Opens in Kabul 19 Apr

U.S. Delegate Cited

LD191916 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A conference of the Afghan, U.S., and Soviet public under the slogan "Ways To Achieve a Peace Settlement to the Afghan Conflict" opened in Kabul today.

[Correspondent M. Leshchinskiy] These people have come to Afghanistan to talk about peace, but for the time being you still cannot get away from all the things that the war has brought with it. That is why, among the discussions, reports, and meetings, visits were planned right away to just such displays of captured weapons. They had been brought to Kabul from various regions of Afghanistan at various times. These Italian mines, for example, could have been defused by sappers in some field or other or some crowded public road. Mortars, guns, firearms, ammunition, probably from secret arsenals in the mountains which had been destroyed during fierce fighting.

Here there are also the sadly well-known U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft missiles and British Blowpipes. They are weapons used in barbaric acts, fired at peaceful air passengers. In recent years alone, over 200 absolutely innocent people have been killed in the air here. The latest air tragedy took place a little over a week ago in northern Afghanistan.

There is nothing to surprise one here. It has become known during the period of the Geneva talks that the United States has increased its aid to the Afghan opposition, sending them, among other things, long-distance mortars and anti-aircraft missiles to the sum of $300 million.

What does Lindsay Mathieson, executive director of the International Center for Development and Politics, think about this and about the prospects for a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan?

[Mathieson speaking in English with superimposed Russian report] I support the national reconciliation policy, Mr Mathieson said. I hope that other forces who could

re-establish peace in Afghanistan will do the same. I believe that the recent peace agreements in Geneva will assist this, Mr Mathieson said.

Keshtmand Addresses Conference

LD192124 Moscow TASS in English 2101 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 19 TASS—The policy of national reconciliation has broad support of the working people of Afghanistan, said Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand. He spoke here today at the opening of a conference of Afghan, American and Soviet public held under the motto "Peaceful Ways of Settlement of the Afghan Problem". "This policy gave fresh impetus to the development of our multistructure economy in which the private sector plays an important part", Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand said. "We have programmes of the country's development up to the year 2000. The Soviet Union renders large economic assistance to our country. At the same time, favourable terms are envisaged also for capital investments of other countries".

"Afghanistan now has mutually advantageous commercial relations with more than 50 countries, including the United States", the prime minister went on. "Deplorably, the U.S. Administration denied Afghanistan the most favoured nation treatment in commerce. We know there are circles in the United States which ignore real developments in Afghanistan. They greatly influence the government's decision-making. For instance, a group of congressmen tried to bring pressure on the administration to prevent the signing of the Geneva agreements. Instead of supplying opposition units with armaments, it would be better to give humanitarian aid to refugees returning to Afghanistan", the prime minister said.

"The signing of the Geneva agreements which assumed a form of international treaties creates a broad basis for all-round political solution of the Afghan problem," the head of the government said. The Geneva agreements preclude any interference in the internal affairs of both Pakistan and Afghanistan. This is guaranteed by the United States and the Soviet Union.

Addressing the U.S. delegation, Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand said that if the bloodshed continues in Afghanistan as a result of the supply of armaments to the enemies of the Afghan revolution, the Afghan people will forever regard the USA as the mastermind of war and tension.

Head of the Afghan delegation, President of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Afghanistan Sulayman Muhammed La'eq then took the floor. He said that in order to oppose military provocations, interference and aggression, the Afghan side in the past turned to the Soviet Union for assistance. This assistance was of lawful nature and was necessary for safeguarding Afghanistan's independence, freedom and territorial integrity. The policy of national reconciliation has been conducted in Afghanistan since January 1987. It enjoys the nationwide support. More than 3,690 commissions for national reconciliation have been set up in the country. 4,059 people from opposition groups work in these commissions. More than 120 thousand refugees returned over this period from Pakistan, Iran, India, Arab countries, West European countries and the United States. More than 60 thousand people from units of the opposition crossed over to the side of the government. 19,000 convicts were released from prisons. Units of the limited contingent of Soviet troops were withdrawn from 13 provinces, and six regiments returned to the Soviet Union.

Touching upon the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva, Sulayman Muhammed La'eq noted that the signing of the agreements alongside the policy of national reconciliation creates the opportunity for the settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, for an end to war and bloodshed, for the establishment of peace on the Afghan soil.

Noting a fruitful character of relations between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, the head of the Afghan delegation stressed that these relations are an excellent example of relations of two countries and peoples that are at different stages of social development.

USSR UN Association Praises Afghan Accords

LD201149 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 20 TASS—The U.N. Association of the USSR made the following statement today:

"The U.N. Association of the USSR has met with profound satisfaction the signing of the Geneva agreements on a political settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation. The Geneva agreements are of much importance for the consolidation of peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. They are the result of the efforts of many countries of the world community, primarily persistent and unswerving actions taken by the Governments of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan, their flexible approach to the settlement of the external aspects of the Afghan problem.

"The United Nations organization, specifically, U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar and his personal representative Diego Cordovez, played a special part in attaining progress at the talks. They made a significant contribution to the successful completion of the Geneva diplomatic process that was a major step on the way to a comprehensive settlement of the Afghan problem.

"The documents that came into force are to make a decisive impact on the situation in Afghanistan and around it. They create a precedent for a peaceful settlement of other regional conflicts. However, the viability of the agreements will depend, in the long run, on the

strict observance of their concrete commitments by the signatories to them. It is natural that this will also require a realistic approach of all the parties concerned, a mutual compromise for the sake of attaining the common goal.

"The Soviet public that supports the U.N. wholeheartedly welcomes the results of the Geneva talks, points out a special role played by the U.N. in the settlement of the Afghanistan-related situation and regards the reaching of agreements on that issue as an event of a major international significance. The U.N. Association of the USSR believes that it is evidence of a significant potential of the United Nations Organization that can and should be used for the solution of regional conflicts by peaceful means, with the help of talks".

Kabul Rally, New Rebel Attacks Reported
PM191309 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Apr 88 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent Lieutenant Colonel A. Oliynik dispatch: "Peace for the Land of Afghanistan"]

[Text] Kabul—"Let National Reconciliation Triumph," "No One Must Be Outside National Reconciliation," "Peace for the Land of Afghanistan"—these slogans were brought by residents of the Afghan capital to the PDPA Central Committee building in the main square. A rally devoted to the successful conclusion of the Afghan-Pakistani talks and the signing of the Geneva agreements was held here.

More than 100,000 people—workers, employees, students, Afghan Army and people's militia servicemen—participated in the rally. They all came with one desire—to voice the Afghan people's unanimous striving to establish peace and tranquility in the motherland.

"The day for which our people strove long and hard and for which they paid with the lives of their best sons and daughters has come at last," Najibullah, president of the Republic and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, said on addressing the rally. "This day has brought joy and hope to every Afghan family, to our every home, to the heart of every honest Afghan.

"The Afghan people were not alone in their just struggle. They will forever keep the memory of the disinterested assistance of our friend and ally—the Soviet people, whose sons defended our beloved Afghanistan together with our sons. Together with us, our great friend endured all sufferings and bitter losses, helping to defend our revolution and our dignity. The Geneva agreements guarantee Afghanistan's sovereignty, and therefore the friends' troops will soon return home," President Najibullah said in conclusion.

The Afghan Government is ready for a dialogue with the opposition, speakers at the rally emphasized. However, reports issuing from Peshawar, from the headquarters of the "Alliance of Seven," sound a sharply dissonant note. The leaders of the intransigents do not tire of declaring that they do not recognize the Geneva agreements and do not intend to lay down their arms. And they not only declare this, but also continue to sow death.

These days, armed opposition detachments have resumed combat operations in the regions of Konahar, Asadabad, and Qandahar. Afghan Army and people's militia sentry posts and border troop subunits have been fired upon in the provinces of Nangarhar, Balkh, Ghazni, Herat, and Konduz.

The opposition leaders are still gambling on continuing the bloodshed. But the Afghan people angrily reply "No!" to those who want to continue the terror. This was convincingly demonstrated once again at the 100,000-strong rally in Kabul.

Afghan Settlement, Reconciliation Viewed
PM191213 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[International observer V. Vinogradov "Military-Political Review": "Putting Out the Flame of Regional Conflicts"]

[Excerpt] Regional conflicts which are flaring up or continuing in various parts of the planet are seriously complicating the international situation and hampering its improvement. Furthermore, they could act as a detonator in triggering a global catastrophe in which all mankind could perish. Therefore, it is not surprising that universal attention is focused on them and that the world community is chanelling its efforts into eliminating them.

The meeting which has just been held in Tashkent between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan and general secretary of the PDPA Central Committee, falls into this category. They noted that the policy of national reconciliation which is being consistently implemented by the Afghan leadership and this leadership's constructive stance on questions of a political settlement is the only correct line which is in keeping with the interests of the Afghan people and all their neighbors and the interests of the entire international community.

The Soviet-Afghan joint statement notes that the Soviet Union and the Republic of Afghanistan will act in accordance with the familiar statements published 9 February this year. These statements gave a new impetus to the quest for a political settlement of this very complex regional conflict and have made it possible to bring the talks into the realm of practical solutions.

The CPSU Central Committee general secretary and the president of the Republic of Afghanistan believe that as a result of the constructive collaboration of all who have been involved in working out a settlement, the last

obstacles preventing the conclusion of agreements have now been eliminated and they favor the signing of these agreements without delay. The Soviet Union and Afghanistan confirmed that in the event of the signing of the said agreements within the very near future, the accord which they have reached on the withdrawal of Soviet forces within the period specified by these agreements and beginning from 15 May 1988 remains in force.

The policy of national reconciliation makes it possible to settle the situation around Afghanistan, to end the war and fratricide, to establish peace throughout the country's territory, and to form a coalition government with the participation of all forces which represent Afghan society, including those which at present oppose each other.

One cannot omit to mention here the results of the first year of the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan. They are impressive and promising. Confident steps have been taken along the path of creating and strengthening people's power on a coalition basis, and developing and strengthening the economy on a multisector basis and the political system on a multiparty basis. More than 40,000 armed representatives of the opposition have laid down their arms and ceased hostilities. More than 120,000 refugees have returned home. Some 12,000 people have been released from prisons. All Afghan cities, 148 counties, 68 districts, and more than half the hamlets are controlled by the state authorities. Currently, in accordance with the law on elections to the National Council (parliament), elections to the supreme organ of state power are taking place in all parts of the country.

And so the question of the signing of the "Geneva package" has become a practical proposition. All that is required is to avoid raising artificial conditions which are absolutely alien to the essence of the Geneva talks. Yet there are people who have tried and are still trying to raise such conditions. The United States is insisting, for instance, that the USSR cease all aid to the Republic of Afghanistan simultaneously with the ending of U.S. interference which is accompanied by massive military support for the armed opposition. This demand by Washington, which was immediately backed by Islamabad, runs directly counter to the generally accepted principles of international law and of relations between states. It clearly pursues the aim of pushing through without prior agreement the idea that there is no difference between the government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the leaders of the opposition "Alliance of Seven."

This obviously also explains why Washington has in recent months appreciably increased its military aid to the Afghan opposition. According to THE WASHINGTON POST, the antigovernment formations which are operating from Pakistani territory "are receiving new weapons including antitank missiles and antitank guns." These arms, the newspaper writes, are being supplied as part of the latest $300 million Washington program which is being implemented in connection with the upcoming withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan and the possible discontinuation of U.S. aid to the rebels. When reports appeared in the U.S. press that the Administration is discontinuing deliveries of surface-to-air "Stinger" missiles to the anti-government forces, White House official spokesman M. Fitzwater denied the reports.

In these circumstances the trip of U.S. Defense Secretary F. Carlucci to the region, during which he visited India and Pakistan, could not go unnoticed. After all, the Pentagon chief had very recently stated frankly during hearings in the U.S. Congress: "We do not intend to end our support for the rebels just because the Soviet Union ends military aid to the Kabul regime." It is true that while in Delhi, F. Carlucci tried to convince his partners in the talks that U.S. arms deliveries to Pakistan are not that great and have no bearing on the Afghan problem. However, a little while later in Islamabad the defense secretary assured the Pakistani leadership that the aid program in the sphere of the country's security would be implemented in full. He announced that in the very near future, Islamabad would receive another 11 F-16 fighter-bombers in addition to the 40 it already has, and also 560 air-launched missiles. Special attention at the talks was paid to the elaboration of the details of a deal concerning deliveries to the Pakistani regime of aircraft with the airborne warning and control system (AWACS).

It is impossible not to notice that in view of a possible settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, Washington is seeking to hitch Pakistan even more firmly to its militarist chariot. Indian newspapers emphasize that this was the very purpose of the U.S. defense secretary's visit to Islamabad. They point out that at present, Pakistani territory is literally covered with a network of U.S. military installations, with the main ones located along the Makran Coast and in Baluchistan Province. The airfields in Quetta, Gwadar, and Turbat have been adapted for flights of U.S. bomber and military transport aircraft operating in the Persian Gulf zone and the Near East. The Pentagon has resumed the use of its old base in Badin and stepped up the use of its base in Gwadar. [passage omitted]

Afghan Election Seen as Success for Policy

PM191503 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 19 Apr 88 p3

[Georgiy Kuvaldin "Commentator's Opinion": "In a Democratic Atmosphere"]

[Text] Elections to the National Council (the country's parliament) have come to a close in the Republic of Afghanistan. A total of 1,547,000 voters took part. If one takes into account that several million Afghans are still outside the country for various reasons and there were no elections at all in some districts because of subversive

actions by extremist groups, this figure shows the population's active participation in this important political event. A total of 234 deputies have been elected to the lower parliamentary chamber—the Volosi Jirgah—and 62 senators to the upper chamber, or Senate. A further 62 senators will be elected at provincial council sessions and 62 will be appointed by the Afghan president. This will make a total of 186 senators.

For the first time in Afghan history, the elections were held in an atmosphere of full democracy on the basis of a direct secret ballot involving all citizens in the republic over the age of 18, irrespective of their sex, nationality, property qualification, or religious belief. The present atmosphere in Afghanistan is typified by the slogan under which the elections were held—"Peace and Security Through a Policy of National Reconciliation." The democratic nature of the elections is primarily shown by the fact that 45 of the 234 electoral districts went to the opposition and 25 to nomads.

It is significant that the close of the National Council elections has coincided with the signing of the Geneva agreements—a historic event reflecting the principles of the new political thinking in the approach to solving regional conflicts. There is no doubt that these two events are organically linked with the constructive national reconciliation policy taken by Kabul and broadly supported both within the country and abroad. This policy has convincingly demonstrated the Afghan leadership's sincere desire to end the fratricidal war, establish peace, and maintain relations of friendship and cooperation with neighboring countries.

The National Council elections were held in an atmosphere of democracy, openness, and freedom, and representatives of all strata of society, including women and young people, took part in them, President Najibullah said in an address to the people broadcast on radio and television. Our enemies tried to wreck these elections, but our people bravely withstood these attempts, the president emphasized.

Komsomol's Mironenko Meets With Najibullah

PM201521 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 88 p 3

[Report by our own correspondent M. Kozhukhov: "Strengthening Friendship"]

[Text] Kabul—In Kabul yesterday, President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan received Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary V. Mironenko, who is here at the head of a Komsomol delegation on an official friendly visit at the invitation of the Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan [DYOA] Central Committee.

During the comradely, frank conversation Najibullah expressed a high opinion of Soviet youth's role in strengthening friendship between the two countries' peoples and of the Komsomol's concrete assistance in the formation of the DYOA—the vanguard of Afghan youth. "I particularly want to back the desire of DYOA committees to establish direct friendly links with Komsomol committees in the Soviet Union," the president said. "It seems important to us that these links between young people in our countries should help young people to know one another better, to acquaint themselves with the life, labor, and education of their contemporaries, and to implement permanent contacts.

"In the heart of every patriot," Najibullah stressed, "the memory of the Soviet Komsomol members and internationalist soldiers who died defending Afghanistan's sovereignty and independence will forever shine bright."

V. Mironenko assured the Afghan president of the constant solidarity of Soviet young men and women with the Afghan people's struggle for peace and social progress. The youth of the USSR, he noted, will continue to give effective assistance to the DYOA in building a new, independent Afghanistan. Cooperation will continue to strengthen between the two youth leagues, united by the jointly shed blood of Soviet and Afghan troops defending the gains of the April revolution against encroachments by internal and external enemies and united by the joint struggle for world peace.

F. Mazdak, candidate member of the PDPA Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the DYOA Central Committee, participated in the conversation.

The Komsomol delegation laid a wreath at the monument to the fallen heroes of the revolution.

Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary V. Mironenko met with cadre workers and activists of the DYOA and with representatives of the youth press. He aroused great interest among the audience with a frank account of the course of revolutionary restructuring that has encompassed all spheres of life in the Soviet Union. The Komsomol delegation leader talked about Soviet youth's involvement in the implementation of plans for the country's socioeconomic development and about the fulfillment of 20th Komsomol Congress decisions.

We want to sincerely congratulate Afghan youth on the great victory that was made possible by the successful implementation of the national reconciliation policy. Afghan-Pakistani agreements have been signed, paving the way to long-awaited peace in your country, V. Mironenko stressed. The agreements create conditions for the Soviet internationalist troops to go home. They are leaving Afghanistan enormously confident that the cause we have struggled for together will triumph. But even after their return, in the new Afghan conditions, we, the two fraternal youth leagues, will not only maintain

but strengthen our friendship and comprehensive cooperation. This is required by the interests of our neighboring peoples, the interests of peace and general security worldwide.

The Komsomol delegation met with the command of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Yesterday evening Komsomol Central Committee First Secretary V. Mironenko and his entourage left for Nangarhar Province.

Pakistan Incites Muslim Unrest in Sri Lanka

LD200118 Moscow TASS in English 2310 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] New Delhi April 19 TASS—A new alarming factor—interference by Pakistan—has appeared in the complex situation of the ethnic conflict between the Sinhalese and Tamils in Sri Lanka. Islamabad is inciting some groupings of the island's Muslims to take action against Tamils.

As reported by UNI Agency, in the course of an operation on the island members of the Indian peace-keeping contingent discovered several dumps containing Pakistani-made hand grenades near the town of Kalmulai, where the percentage of the Muslims population is high.

There were fierce clashes lately in this area between Tamils and Muslims. As a result 17 people were killed and several dozen houses destroyed. Some of the arrested instigators of the violence admitted that they had undergone training in a special camp on the territory of Pakistan. They also received lavish financial assistance from Pakistan and some reactionary Arab countries.

The majority of the Muslim population in Sri Lanka, the local mass media write, support the Indian-Lanka agreement directed at ending the four-year-long fratricidal war on the island and approve of the presence of the Indian military contingent. But this clearly goes against the desires of the Islamabad leaders. They are not ceasing their attempts to set all sections of the Lanka population against the Indian servicemen, fan higher the flames of the conflict and in the process to promote ideas of reactionary Islamic fundamentalism in Sri Lanks.

Libyan Official Arrives in Moscow 19 Apr

LD192228 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Daw 'Ali Suwaydan, secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah, arrived in Moscow today.

Air Force Chief Yefimov Returns From Syria

PM191119 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Return to Moscow"]

[Text] Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov, commander in chief of the Air Forces and USSR deputy defense minister, returned to Moscow 8 April after an official visit to Syria.

Colonel General B.F. Korolkov, first deputy commander in chief of the Air Force, and generals and officers met Marshal of Aviation A.N. Yefimov at the airport.

Brigadier General M.K. Qassabin, acting military attache to the Syrian Embassy in the USSR, was among those meeting him.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Gulf Tour Assessed

Tarazevich Lauds Omani Policies

PM191609 Muscat 'UMAN in Arabic 8 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Before His Departure, Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman Praises Wise Policy of His Majesty the Sultan"]

[Text] Muscat (Oman)—His Excellency USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Deputy Chairman Georgiy Tarazevich and the delegation accompanying him yesterday morning left the country heading for the state of Kuwait after a 3-day official visit to the sultanate, during which talks were held with senior officials in the state.

Prior to his departure, his excellency made a statement to the Omani News Agency in which he said: It was an honor for me to meet and exchange views with His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id. He also said: Such an exchange is very useful to us; we sensed his majesty's noble Arab wisdom.

His excellency emphasized that talks during his meeting with His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id proved that viewpoints of the Soviet Union and the Sultanate of Oman on regional and international issues as well as bilateral relations are close or identical.

His excellency praised the great achievements realized over the past 17 years under his majesty. He described these achievements as an object of pride for the Omani people. He said that all these achievements are the result of the wise policy of His Majesty Sultan Qabus Ibn Sa'id, who confers with the people directly.

His excellency the guest expressed satisfaction with the results of his visit to the sultanate, and said: It was very useful, since we discussed with officials in the state important issues, bilateral relations, as well as current important international issues.

His excellency was seen off by State Consultative Council Deputy Chairman Shaykh Ibrahim Ibn Muhammad al-Hana'i, Soviet charge' d'affaires in the sultanate, and a number of Foreign Ministry officials.

Tarazevich Interviewed

PM200753 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent V Shevchenko "IZVESTIYA Interview" with G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "Our World Is Interconnected. About the Visit of the USSR Supreme Soviet Special Mission"; date of interview not given—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Text] Kuwait—The visit of the USSR Supreme Soviet special mission to Persian Gulf countries has ended. Its head, G.S. Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, shared his impressions from this trip in conversation with our correspondent.

Our delegation, he said, visited the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Kuwait, and met with these countries' leaders and many statesmen. These meetings were interesting and useful and they took place in an atmosphere of mutual trust and respect. Wide-ranging questions of an international and regional nature as well as questions pertaining to bilateral cooperation were discussed.

We described the new Soviet peace initiatives aimed at ending the arms race and creating a comprehensive system of security. The leadership of the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Kuwait gave a high appraisal of the USSR's efforts and emphasized mutual interest in a relaxation of international tension and the creation of a climate of trust and mutual respect between the peoples of different countries.

Special attention was paid to regional problems—the Iran-Iraq war, the Near East conflict, and the normalization of the situation around Afghanistan. Here the proximity of the stances in dealing with these questions was noted. As you know, the situation in the Near and Middle East and the Persian Gulf area is very tense and explosive. The conflicts which have arisen here can only be resolved by means of peaceful negotiations.

This is the view taken in the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Kuwait. These countries are backing the idea of the creation of a UN fleet in the Persian Gulf to replace the foreign fleets currently there, which would undoubtedly help to improve the situation in the region. The readiness expressed by the Soviet Union and Afghanistan to continue adhering to the accord which they have reached on beginning the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan on 15 May, provided that the Geneva agreements are signed in the very near future, was met with understanding and approval.

Our world is interconnected, and therefore goodwill and the participation of all interested parties is needed to resolve complex problems. Questions of bilateral cooperation were also discussed in the course of the meetings. We have accumulated positive experience in our bilateral relations with Kuwait, with which the USSR has maintained diplomatic relations for 25 years, and relations with the United Arab Emirates and Oman are developing successfully.

Over the past two decades, these countries have made considerable achievements in socioeconomic development, largely thanks to oil revenue and its sensible utilization.

There is great interest in our country and in the changes which are taking place in the USSR. During the meetings we talked about restructuring and the work of the USSR Supreme Soviet organs in the new conditions. I would like to mention once again the atmosphere of hospitality and amicability which surrounded us during the trip.

Losev Reviews Tour

LD200354 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From "The World Today" program; Farid Seyful-Mulyukov interview with TASS Director General Sergey Losev; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Seyful-Mulyukov] A special mission of the USSR Supreme Soviet has recently visited the countries of the Persian Gulf. Deputy Sergey Andreyevich Losev, TASS Director General, was a member of the mission. Sergey Andreyevich, as we know, the Soviet delegation visited the United Arab Emirates, Oman, and Kuwait.

[Losev] It was headed by Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Presidium of the Belorussian Supreme Soviet.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] You had meetings and contacts with heads of state and other prominent personalities. What steps are these countries taking to extinguish the Iran-Iraq war and normalize the situation in the region?

[Losev] The delegation had meetings with the amir of Kuwait, the sultan of Oman, and the president of the UAE. They are all, naturally, alarmed by the Iran-Iraq war. It is taking place right alongside them, and threatens their own security and the security of navigation, upon which oil exports, and consequently their incomes, depend. And there is the possibility that this war might spread. The aspiration to put an end as soon as possible to this bloodshed can be felt in all the Gulf countries. In this respect, there is a lot in common with the position of the Soviet Union, which is making the most energetic efforts. The Gulf countries back the UN's efforts and

Security Council Resolution 598. They consider—and particular stress was placed upon this in the UAE and Oman—that the possibilities of this resolution are far from being exhausted.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] And what specifically do they have in mind? How can further use be made of it?

[Losev] Well, you see, the thing is, shall we say, Oman's position was expounded to us like this: Iran is our neighbor. The distance across the Gulf is not very far at all. If you look at a map, you will see that Iran is right on top of the small states of the Gulf, so to speak. Oman says: We are vitally committed to maintaining normal relations with Iran. In this respect, they have adapted to the reality of a possible embargo on arms supplies to any country which continues to refuse to fulfill Security Council Resolution 598. Considerable doubts are being expressed in Oman as to whether this resolution will lead to a cessation of arms supplies to Iran, given, for instance, the situation existing on the black markets for arms. Some people told us frankly that the United States has no interest in putting an end to the Iran-Iraq war.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] And how do these countries, or individual states, regard our proposals concerning the withdrawal of foreign warships belonging to nonlittoral states and ensuring the security of shipping under the UN flag?

[Losev] The contacts we had confirmed that this Soviet initiative continues to attract attention and enjoys support. The concentration of a huge armada of foreign fleets in The Persian Gulf is giving rise to great concern among the Gulf countries, because this creates the threat of confrontation and maintains the real possibility of other states being drawn into the Iran-Iraq war. In this respect, the idea of setting up naval forces under the UN flag, which we propose, is an attractive one for the Gulf countries. At the same time, our interlocutors said frankly that it will be very hard to realize this idea, given the fact that the Western powers, and primarily the United States, oppose this proposal.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Sergey Andreyevich, tell us, please, whether the question of a Near East settlement was discussed during your meetings in the Persian Gulf countries, and on what plane?

[Losev] First and foremost, the question of the effect of the Palestinian uprising upon that situation was touched upon. We sometimes underestimate the influence this has on public opinion, and primarily on public opinion in the Arab world. When these scenes of merciless suppression of the uprising by the Israeli occupiers appear on television screens every day, this evokes anger. I think this, too, is a result of the effect of the Palestinian uprising.

The second aspect I would like to stress, however, is the similiarity of opinions between us, to the effect that the most realistic and, in practice, the sole way to a settlement is to convene without delay a Near East conference in order to attain a just settlement. And a conference not as a coverup for separate deals, but a full blooded conference which would say its own harsh word on settling of all issues, with the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people—I mean the PLO—and the five member countries of the Security Council.

[Seyful-Mulyukov] Sergey Andreyevich, how did these countries receive the success of the Geneva process on setting the situation around Afghanistan as an example of the unblocking acute conflict situations?

[Losev] They were all waiting for this moment, waiting impatiently, and expressed a lack of understanding of, and sometimes dissatisfaction with the position of those who were dragging out the signing of the agreement. It is no secret that a number of the states of the region, in particular Saudi Arabia and also a few Gulf countries—I do not want to name them specifically now—have rendered financial assistance to the dushmans. Following Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's statement concerning the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the position of the Gulf countries also changed. In surprising conversations, they said that in their contacts with the mujahidin, they now advise them to opt for the settlement and make use of the opportunities being offered by the policy of national reconciliation and the Soviet Union's principled decision on troop withdrawal, all the more so in that a substantial base for this has now been formed, in the shape of the Geneva accords.

Sub-Saharan Africa

SWAPO's Nujoma Holds Moscow News Conference

LD191233 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] The president of the South-West Africa People's Organization, SWAPO, Sam Nujoma, has given a news conference in Moscow, where he came as head of a SWAPO delegation at the invitation of the Soviet leadership. Sam Nujoma told newsmen about the Namibian people's struggle for freedom and independence, waged against the colonial regime of apartheid. On the pretext of neutralizing guerrillas, the South African military imprison innocent people and destroy homes and churches, he said. They are waging a war even against Namibian children. This year alone South African troops and their hirelings burned 15 schools. Dozens of children perished as a result of punitive operations.

Thanks USSR for Support

LD192007 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] A delegation of the South-West African People's Organization [SWAPO], headed by its chairman, Sam

Nujoma, is in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet leadership. Here is our correspondent A. Shashkov:

[Shashkov] The delegation today attended the solemn opening of SWAPO's permanent mission in Moscow. This event, which coincided with the organization's 28th anniversary, was, among other things, the subject of a news conference by Sam Nujoma.

Sam Nujoma expressed gratitude to the CPSU, the Soviet Government, and all Soviet people for their support for the just struggle of the Namibian people against the South African occupationist forces and for their homeland's independence.

SWAPO, which heads the struggle, has been recognized by the United Nations as the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people. Today there is 1 soldier of the RSA occupationist army for every 12 people in that country. Namibians disappear without trace or perish at the hands of Pretoria's mercenaries. This unleashed terror is aimed at consolidating the illegitimate occupation of Namibia, whose territory is being used as a bridgehead for aggression against Angola and its mineral wealth, shamelessly plundered by Western companies.

SWAPO is interested in a peaceful settlement to the Namibian problem, Sam Nujoma stressed at the news conference, and it supports the corresponding resolution of the UN Security Council. However, the Pretoria regime is thwarting the fulfillment of the most important decisions of the international community. Sam Nujoma called on the world public to give all-round support to the fighting Namibian people.

Restoration of Somali-Ethiopian Ties Hailed

PM191515 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Aleksandr Serbin "Viewpoint" article: "Sensible Step"]

[Text] Ethiopia and Somalia have decided to resume diplomatic relations. A very important and sensible step has been taken toward normalizing the situation in the Horn of Africa.

The Somali-Ethiopian conflict, which broke out in 1977 after the Somali Army's invasion of Ogaden, was based, like a number of other conflicts in Africa, on a territorial dispute. The question of the state borders of the countries of the African Continent was engendered by the era of colonialism and the rule of the colonialists, who arbitrarily fixed the boundaries of their domains through fierce fighting and deals among themselves and repressions against recalcitrant peoples. Africa entered the era of liberation with these borders. The OAU—the political alliance of the continent's states—practically from its inception called upon its members to consider historic realities in the question of borders, not to use force to revise them, and to mutually respect territorial integrity.

The Somali-Ethiopian conflict remained a trouble spot on the continent for more than a decade, first flaring up, then dying down, but always in danger of exploding. These years confirmed the truth that disputes and disagreements between African countries create a breeding ground for imperialist plots and for neocolonialist pressure on Africa's young countries.

I happened to witness the first contacts between the leaders of Ethiopia and Somalia in their endeavor to settle the complex situation. A meeting was held in early 1986 between the leaders of the two neighboring states in Djibouti, which resulted in the formation of a joint special committee of ministers. This gave rise to hope. But the obstacles to the normalization of bilateral relations also seemed insurmountable. There were many skeptical assessments of the emergent process. However, the leaders' good will and political responsibility proved stronger and the decision to resume diplomatic relations followed 2 years later. It was taken at the fourth meeting of this committee held in Mogadishu 1-2 April.

Its adoption, as Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh pointed out in Addis Ababa, was helped largely by the Somali side's agreement to examine Ethiopia's proposal regarding the demarcation of the border between the two countries. The accords secured in Mogadishu provide also for the cessation of subversive activity and hostile propaganda against one another, disengagement of troops along the joint border, exchange of prisoners of war, repudiation of the use of force or the threat of force, and resolution of all questions by peaceful means.

The agreement in Mogadishu seems to me to be a concrete manifestation of the new political thinking, which is now increasingly making itself felt in international affairs. A sober view of matters suggests that Ethiopia and Somalia have a common historical past and identical problems to solve. I will mention that both countries are part of the OAU and are also involved in the work of the Permanent Intergovernmental Authority on Drought and Development—the organization tackling questions of the struggle against drought in the region. They are also members of the Preferential Trading Zone for East and South Africa.

People in the Soviet Union, which favors defusing of the complex and explosive situation in the Horn of Africa, note with satisfaction the positive development of the emerging settlement process. The principles of mutual respect, territorial integrity, and noninterference in internal affairs, on which it is to be based, promise fruitful results. The organization of normal ties and good-neighborliness does not merely end military confrontation but also opens up possibilities for mutually advantageous cooperation between these countries.

There is no doubt that the normalization of the situation in the Horn of Africa improves prospects for a political settlement in other trouble spots also. The experience of Ethiopia and Somalia can also be useful in those areas where the flame of conflicts flickers, jeopardizing peace.

Further Reports on Mozambican Delegation Visit

Received by Demichev

PM200837 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Relations Are Developing"]

[Text] P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin on 11 April a delegation from the Mozambican People's Assembly headed by S. Shambuka [name as published], a member of its permanent commission.

In the conversation, held in a spirit of friendship and mutual understanding, questions were discussed linked with the current situation in the world and the state and development of Soviet-Mozambican relations, including at the parliamentary level.

P.N. Demichev informed the guests of the process of revolutionary restructuring in the USSR at its new stage, the preparation by the CPSU and the entire Soviet people for the 19th all-union party conference, and the multifaceted activity of the soviets of people's deputies centrally and at the local level. He stressed that the Soviet Union's working people have invariably supported the Mozambican people in their struggle to strengthen national independence, to achieve peace and progress, and to eradicate the remnants of socialism and racism on the continent.

We in Mozambique welcome the USSR's efforts geared to eliminating nuclear weapons, S. Shambuka stated. We are following restructuring in your country with interest and we wish it success.

On the same day the Mozambican parliamentarians laid wreaths on the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier at the Kremlin wall. They visited the museum "V.I. Lenin's Office and Apartment in the Kremlin."

At a news conference for Soviet and foreign journalists, the members of the Mozambican People's Assembly delegation shared their impressions of their stay in the USSR. Our visit was exceptionally informative and fruitful, S. Shambuka said. We are confident that it will be a new contribution on the path of developing interparliamentary ties between the two countries and friendship and cooperation between the peoples of Mozambique and the Soviet Union.

In the evening the delegation left the Soviet Union. It was in our country on an official visit at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

'Stopover' in Moscow

LD192029 Moscow TASS in English 1850 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—The delegation of the People's Assembly of Mozambique led by Samuel Chambuca [name as received], member of its Standing Commission, was on a stop-over in Moscow on April 18-19.

The Mozambican parliamentarians held a talk at the Secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

East Europe

Ryzhkov Continues Official Hungarian Visit

Tours Budapest Factory

LD191813 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Now let us take a look at today's reportage from our special correspondents in Hungary:

[Unidentified correspondent] Tungsram is a brand name that is well-known in every corner of the globe. This morning Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, visited this enterprise. The more than 90-year history of Tungsram is a visible illustration of steps in scientific and technical progress and constantly developing initiative. Three-quarters of its output goes to exports, and this includes the most up-to-date light sources, electronic equipment, and laser devices. One-third of all Japanese vehicles, the vehicles of certain Western European and U.S. vehicle concerns, and also all of the cars produced by our VAZ works are fitted with the light bulbs manufactured here.

Comrade Ryzhkov took an interest in new models of robot technology and control systems for the automation of production. This type of high-capacity equipment will also be installed in Soviet factories. The conversation in the workshops revolved around specific technical problems, and these are addressed by the joint efforts of Soviet and Hungarian specialists: ways of expanding production cooperation, and more mundane affairs, such as workers' wages and ways of solving various social issues, in a word, life.

After the visit to the electrical engineering giant, Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov toured a small and quite new enterprise—the Muszertechnika production cooperative. There are 3,000 such associations in Hungary today, and they play an ever greater role in the national economy. Here they sometimes are even called the base of the national economy.

The Muszertechnika leaders told their Soviet guests that their cooperative had over a short period—and it specializes in the production of computers—managed to considerably increase the scale of production. The cooperative's output is appearing ever more frequently on the world market. Computers bearing the Muszertechnika brand name are also utilized in scientific research in the Soviet Union. Of course, the guests were interested in the reasons for the cooperative's successful activity, and the answer was this: a high level of scientific developments, precise economic accounting, labor productivity, quality of output, and discipline. The working day in these workshops and laboratories only ends when the work is completed. Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov wished the Hungarian cooperative workers further success.

Visits Sarisap Settlement

LD191959 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 19 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by television correspondent I. Kudrin]

[Text] [Kudrin] Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov today arrived at the settlement of Sarisap, 50 km from Budapest. The New Life cooperative is typical of many in the province of the capital.

There was a warm meeting in the main square. The landscape here is intricate and mountainous; the land is poor but there is a large agrarian culture; equipment is always in order, and, this is the main thing, people know and love their work.

The discussion with the managers of the province and the cooperative was about the profitability of rural production in such unfavorable conditions, about ways of raising the effectiveness of land husbandry, and about progressive methods of renumeration, in particular the family contract.

In the evening the USSR Council of Ministers chairman attended a performance at the State Hungarian Opera Theatre of an opera by Erkel. In the box, which was decorated with the state flags of the Soviet Union and Hungary, were Comrade Ryzhkov and his wife, Karoly Grosz, Jozsef Marjai, and other officials.

Hungary's Grosz on 'Attainable' Economic Reforms

PM191553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[Own correspondent V. Gerasimov interview with Karoly Grosz, MSZMP Central Committee Politburo member and Hungarian Council of Ministers chairman: "April 4 is Hungarian Liberation Day. Goals Attainable"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Budapest—People in fraternal Hungary are today celebrating a great national holiday—Liberation Day. The historic choice made by Hungary's working people in favor of socialism radically changed the situation in the country and enabled the Hungarian people, led by the Communist Party in close alliance with the USSR and other socialist states, to transform their homeland.

[Gerasimov] Renewal is necessary but the historic values established in Hungary must still be retained—this was the task set by the MSZMP and the republic's new government when they drew up the socioeconomic development program. How is it being implemented?

[Grosz] Consistently. I would stress this word. We have been engaged in economic reform for 20 years but we have not always carried it out step by step and it often came to a standstill. Determination not to deviate from the plan is very important in the present situation.

But what is the political situation on which we are basing our actions? The composition of forces in world politics is providing us with favorable conditions. The Soviet Union's consistent peace-loving policy, one tangible example of which is the improvement in Soviet-U.S. relations, has perceptibly reduced international tension. Changes and reforms in the USSR and the other socialist countries have also facilitated this. And inside this country? The overwhelming majority of working people in Hungary believe that the goals which have been set are achievable and that our program of renewal will reinforce the socialist gains. Our people take pride in what they have achieved in the past few decades and are ready to defend the values of socialism. People want to work, act, and create both to boost their personal standard of living and to forge ahead together along the path of socialism. But working people are demanding here a clear direction and substantial involvement in formulating decisions. They sincerely want renewal to encompass all links of the party and economic leadership.

I consider it extremely favorable that people realize that the party and government want socialist principles to operate more efficiently and manifest themselves better and more effectively, and the political institutions to reflect the opinions and desires of all strata and groups of the population. A new national unity is thus taking shape.

As for the economic situation, positive changes have appeared there. For example, exports calculated in convertible currency have risen 47 percent in comparison with the same initial period of last year. But we are not laboring under any delusions over this. Imports fell somewhat. Industrial production is at present within the plan framework. Nine percent less power was consumed. Labor productivity has increased by 3.6 percent.

[Gerasimov] What about price increases? Everyone in Hungary is worried about that.

[Grosz] We have planned a definite reduction in real wages. Of course, no one is overjoyed by this. We have abolished state subsidies on a number of commodities.

Free prices are being given full scope. We set the overall price increase at 15 percent for the year, although it will not be so simple to keep it at this level. For the cost of steel, plastics, paper, and so on is rising on the international markets. We will add another 6 billion forints from the amount saved owing to the mild winter to the 27 billion already allocated for easing the lot of low-income families and pensioners. They are largely to compensate for the particularly higher prices for children's goods.

[Gerasimov] What difficulties are impeding your advance?

[Grosz] Our large foreign debt. The debt amounts to $12 billion whereas annual exports in convertible currency amount to $5.5 billion. This considerably restricts our freedom of movement in our economic policy. A considerable proportion of our traditional exports are constantly devalued on the world market as a result of unfavorable international conditions. Moreover, the world economy's prospects up until the year end are still not clear. The fact that at one time we consumed more than we put into the national income is also continuing to take its toll. The export structure has fallen behind modern demands. Yet we have to boost exports to $6-7 billion per year to pay off the debts.

Subjective factors must also be taken into account. Everyone wants changes, but resistance to their implementation is also making itself felt. Independence of thought, responsibility, and the readiness to take risks to achieve success—these human factors are still rarely effective. We must rely on socialist democracy and glasnost in resolving urgent problems.

[Gerasimov] How are things going with the elimination of unprofitable enterprises?

[Grosz] The state allocated up to 160 billion forints annually—almost 20 percent of national income, that is—to subsidizing inefficient and insolvent plants and factories. I must be frank and say that there continue to be difficulties regarding their elimination and restructuring. We have not yet learned to resolve everything correctly from the political viewpoint either. But I am sure full effective employment can be ensured by regrouping the work force. We need to be consistent here.

[Gerasimov] What has been shown by the first experience of using the new tax system?

[Grosz] There is as yet no tax system in the socialist countries like the one we introduced at the beginning of the year. It is too early to talk of experience. The commodity deficit has shrunk and large-scale movements of capital to well-managed enterprises have begun. True, a number of working people engaged in individual activity have surrendered their licenses. For example, out of 36,000 private trading points, 3,500—that is, 10 percent—have been ruined. We believe there is nothing bad in this. Let new, more skillful and capable people enter the private sector of socialist economic activity, in which 4-5 perent of all our country's working people are involved. The main point of the new tax system is to ensure the fairer redistribution of revenue.

[Gerasimov] Where will the economic mechanism be further improved?

[Grosz] Over the 20 years of Hungarian reform it has been proved that economic rather than directive, command means of regulation are indeed well- suited to the socialist planned economy. They have helped to reveal enterprises' initiative and boost efficiency. The population's provision with industrial and agricultural goods sharply improved. The economic strain which has recently emerged indicates precisely that we have not demonstrated sufficient consistency and that we have not reacted in time to world market demands. Our way of doing business is increasingly indeterminate.

While continuing reform, we now also want to employ levers which would give even more incentive to modernize the production structure, accelerate technical development, and enable enterprises to adapt to the demands of the external and internal markets. We have introduced a system of securities to better manage finances, speed up the "circulation" of the forint, and attract the population's savings. Many joint-stock companies, associations, and banks have emerged. Practically all enterprises have obtained the right to trade on foreign markets in convertible currency. We are now discussing a resolution which will determine how private individuals too can link up with a state or cooperative enterprise and even with a foreign firm.

We want to attract foreign capital on a larger scale. As yet few mixed enterprises have been set up. We calculated on receiving approximately $500 million through them, but as yet only a negligible proportion of this sum has been received from joint activity.

The improvement of state management and planning methods remains one of the main avenues of the reform.

[Gerasimov] A protocol was recently signed on annual trade turnover between Hungary and the USSR. What new elements did it contain?

[Grosz] Our trade turnover of approximately R10 billion has laid the foundations for new opportunities for joint Hungarian-Soviet enterprises, associations, and scientific collectives. Thus, direct deliveries and exchange will be simplified. Better conditions are being established for joint production units. That is one typical detail. Another detail is aid for direct ties between enterprises. Last year they added millions of extra rubles to trade turnover. This year new opportunities have opened up for this kind of collaboration. Our ties will also help the better implementation of the Comprehensive Program

for the Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Countries. There are great reserves in our ties with the republics of the Soviet Union. Direct commodity exchange with the Ukraine, Moldavia, and Georgia is bearing good fruit.

[Gerasimov] In your opinion, where is there room for improvement in the mechanism of our cooperation?

[Grosz] I must above all consider two factors in close harmony here. One of these is the restructuring of prices and our countries' joint desire to speed up the mechanism of socialist economic integration. The second is the radical reform initiated in the Soviet Union, which we support to the hilt.

We attach primary importance in our bilateral relations to production cooperation. For this to develop we need greater independence for enterprises, material interest, justifiable prices, and delivery discipline. Economic levers must be created to compel enterprises to reach world quality standards.

We support any new idea which helps to boost our cooperation to a higher level. We have always felt that the Soviet Union's party and state leaders had the maximum understanding of our difficulties, the objective reasons for their occurrence, and the need to actively build up our collaboration.

Bulgarian Army Political Personnel Visit USSR
PM191149 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[Unattributed report: "Guests From Bulgaria"]

[Text] A group of Bulgarian political workers led by Colonel A. Bozhanin, deputy chief of a Bulgarian People's Army Main Political Directorate department, was in the Soviet Union 4 through 8 April.

Fleet Admiral A.I. Sorokin, first deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, received the Bulgarian political workers. The guests were introduced to the broad package of measures taken in the Army and Navy in connection with preparations for the 19th All-Union Party Conference.

The Bulgarian friends visited the V.I. Lenin Military Political Academy and Kiev Military District.

West Europe

UK's Thatcher Receives Voss-Led Delegation
LD191815 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1725 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] London, 19 Apr (TASS)—Prime Minister of Great Britain M. Thatcher received today USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies A.E. Voss, Ye.P. Velikhov, and V.V. Tereshkova, who are here at the invitation of the speaker of the House of Commons of the British Parliament. Soviet Ambassador to Great Britain I.M. Zamyatin took part in the conversation.

During the conversation the stances of the sides on a number of issues relating to the international situation were presented. There was a positive evaluation of Soviet-U.S. contacts at the summit level, and the hope was expressed that the forthcoming Moscow meeting will give new impetus to developing these contacts. The conversation referred to issues relating to the participation of European countries in this important process, which created conditions for relieving tension in the world. M. Thatcher advocated the expansion of parliamentary contacts between the Soviet Union and Great Britain. She said that her meetings with M.S. Gorbachev and the constructive conversations had provided an opportunity of gaining a deeper understanding of the internal processes taking place in the Soviet Union. Moreover, the great interest in Great Britain in getting to know restructuring, democratization, and glasnost was stressed.

A dinner was given in the House of Commons of the British Parliament today in honor of the USSR Supreme Soviet Deputies A.E. Voss, Ye.P. Velikhov, and V.V. Tereshkova.

In their speeches, A.E. Voss and B. Wetherill stressed the great contribution the expansion of contacts between parliamentarians of the two countries can make to improving mutual understanding between our countries and peoples, to improving the situation in Europe and throughout the world, and to developing all-around cooperation between the USSR and Great Britain.

British Ships Warned Away From Persian Gulf
LD200841 Moscow TASS in English 0638 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] London April 20 TASS—The command of the British Naval Forces on Tuesday recommended that all British ships, now in the Persian Gulf area, should stay away from the Strait of Hormuz zone and, if possible, to moor in nearby ports. The measure was taken following a sharp heightening of the situation in the region after U.S. warships attacked Iranian ships and oil platforms. In the Persian Gulf there now 9 British merchant ships and oil tankers, three ships are awaiting their turn to pass the Gulf through the Strait of Hormuz.

On Monday the Iranian Charge d'Affaires ad interim in Britain Akhondzadeh-Basti was summoned to the British Foreign Office and a protest was lodged with him over Iranian gunboats' Monday attack at a ship, registered in Hong Kong, which was flying a British flag. The Iranian representative said that the tense situation in the Gulf developed as a result of the U.S. provocative actions and his country did not intend in the future to

attack ships of Britain and other countries which make trade voyages in the Persian Gulf, if their activities are not linked with support for Iraq.

Spanish Communists Denounce U.S. Gulf Actions

LD200842 Moscow TASS in English 0640 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Madrid April 20 TASS—The Communist Party of Spain has denounced "an avalanche of U.S. military offensive actions in the Persian Gulf which lead only to escalation of tension in the region and even more hamper settlement of the conflict". In its statement issued here the Communist Party of Spain says that tension in the Persian Gulf region is "a direct consequence of the decision to send warships to the region, taken by the Reagan administration and a number of Western countries".

The Communist Party of Spain urges the Spanish Government to denounce the U.S. military actions in the Persian Gulf and demand withdrawal of all foreign navies from the zone.

More on Supreme Soviet Delegation in Strasbourg

LD191819 Moscow TASS in English 1745 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Strasbourg April 19 TASS—A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation, on an official visit to Strasbourg at the invitation of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, today met with the leadership of the Assembly and its standing commissions.

They exchanged information on the structure and activity of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and possibilities of establishing stable ties and cooperation between them within the framework of the all-European process on issues of security, economy, ecology, health services, culture, humanitarian exchanges and protection of human rights.

The conversation confirmed the Western European parliamentarians' interest in the concept of common European home advanced by General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev.

Both sides expressed readiness for constant dialogue and the concerted search for spheres of cooperation on questions related to peoples of the entire continent.

The leaders of the Parliamentary Assembly displayed vivid interest in the process of restructuring and democratisation in the Soviet Union and the overhauling of the legislative system and stressed the value of the USSR's experience in many spheres of social, economic and political life.

The delegations expressed the common view that it was important to pool efforts to preserve peace in Europe which saw cruel confrontation and bloodshed in the past.

Representatives of the Parliamentary Assembly expressed their readiness to develop contacts with the USSR Supreme Soviet and the inter-parliamentary dialogue to deepen mutual understanding in order to "avoid repeating mistakes and war tragedies of the past" as the Parliamentary Assembly president, Louis Jung pointed out.

The delegation was received by the secretary-general of the Council of Europe, Marcelino Oreja Aguirre. An exchange of views was held on possibilities of developing contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the Council of Europe.

The Soviet delegation was received at the municipal council by the Strasbourg mayor, Senator Marcel Rudloff. During a warm conversation they discussed prospects of establishing direct cooperation with Soviet cities.

The conversations and meetings were attended by the USSR ambassador to France, Yakov Ryabov.

Austrian Defense Minister Describes Visit

LD151454 Moscow TASS in English 1433 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Leningrad April 15 TASS—Austria is ready to provide avenue for holding an international conference on any urgent issue: strengthening detente, disarmament and banning various types of weapons of mass destruction, Austrian Defense Minister Robert Lichal told a TASS correspondent. He added that he was specially concerned over chemical weapons and the threat they posed to peace. Austria is interested in having this type of weapons banned.

The defense minister was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of Soviet Defense Minister Army General Dmitriy Yazov. He arrived in Leningrad from Moscow.

The current visit to the USSR was rather successful, the minister said. A long conversation with Army General Dmitriy Yazov offered an opportunity to discuss a wide range of security issues, primarily those in Europe. Such contacts must be permanent. Hence I have invited my Soviet counterpart to pay a reply visit to Austria, he said.

A trend towards a warmer international climate has emerged in the world today, largely due to the Soviet-U.S. treaty which eliminates two classes of missiles, Robert Lichal said further. Austria is satisfied with this fact. One wants to believe that it was only the first step on the way to arms reductions. Any positive movement in this direction, the minister stressed, will be backed by the Austrian Government.

Seen Off by Yazov

LD160249 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 15 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Lichal, federal minister of defense of the Austrian Republic, left Moscow for home today. He made an official visit to our country at the invitation of Army General Yazov, USSR minister of defense. At the airport the Austrian guest was seen off by Comrade Yazov and other officials. Grubmayr, Austrian ambassador in the USSR, was among the sendoff party. [video shows still photograph of Yazov shaking hands with Lichal at airport]

Norway's Willoch Holds Moscow Briefing 8 Apr

PM191027 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Useful Visit"]

[Text] The restructuring of all aspects of Soviet society's life and the development of glasnost and democracy are important for the whole world: These processes reinforce measures promoting trust in our neighbor and offer new opportunities to reduce military confrontation between East and West, K. Willoch, chairman of the Norwegian Storting's Foreign Policy and Constitutional Committee, declared at a news conference in Moscow on 8 April. He heads a delegation from the committee visiting the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Having noted that the Norwegian parliamentarians' visit to Moscow was useful, the guest said that the meetings and conversations with Soviet officials helped to clarify a series of questions which particularly perturb his country's public. We saw for ourselves that the Soviet Union intends to continue to pursue a policy aimed at disarmament and at easing international tension, he stressed. It is important to continue to act within the mainstream of the approaches toward solving international problems which led to the Soviet-U.S. agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. K. Willoch expressed hope that the USSR and the United States will reach agreement on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive weapons and that accord will be reached on banning chemical and other types of mass destruction weapons.

Asserting that there is no clearly defined border between Norway and the USSR in the Barents Sea, the guest stressed the importance of solving the problem of strengthening security in Northern Europe. Touching upon the problem of reducing conventional arms, K. Willoch noted that a balance of forces ought to be found here, just as in the sphere of missile elimination.

The head of the delegation noted the favorable opportunities for further developing economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between Norway and the Soviet Union and for jointly solving questions concerning the opening up of the earth's resources and ecological problems.

On the day before, the guests had conversations at the USSR Academy of Sciences World Economics and International Relations Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences United States of America and Canada Institute.

The delegation of the Norwegian Storting's Foreign Policy and Constitutional Committee, headed by Committee Chairman K. Willoch, departed Moscow on 9 April. The guests were in our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet chambers' foreign affairs commissions.

The delegation was seen off at the airport by S.V. Chervonenko, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of Nationalities Foreign Affairs Commission, USSR Supreme Soviet Deputy Ye.I. Perventsev, and other officials.

Norway's Ambassador to the USSR O. Bucher-Johannessen was among the sendoff party.

Italian Communist Party Leader on European Ties

PM191115 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 11 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Concern About Our 'Common Home'"]

[Text] Rome, 10 Apr—Italy is able to play an important role in European cooperation in the sphere of disarmament and development and in the process of democratization in various parts of the world, the most important condition and motive force of which is international detente. The entire foreign policy activity of the Italian Communist Party [PCI] is focused in this direction. This was stated by A. Natta, secretary general of the PCI, in the closing speech at a conference here entitled "Europe at a New Stage of International Politics." Members of the PCI leadership, leaders of other political parties, government members, and eminent Italian statesmen and public figures took part in it.

The European countries, the PCI secretary general stressed, must base their defense on the principle of universal and reciprocal security and balanced disarmament. I discussed this, A. Natta said, at my recent meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. "We found our interlocutor to be open and ready to view European problems with understanding, since the very realization that we are interdependent in the modern world is becoming particularly important on our continent," he noted.

Italian Communists see the idea of a "common European home" put forward by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee as a call for the development of cooperation and the establishment of new relations between all the countries of the continent. "Successful progress in the process of renewal and democratization in the Soviet Union," the PCI leader noted, "is in the general interest." We are sure that in order to build universal security we must work in the direction of political, economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation between East and West Europe and between the EEC and the CEMA with the participation of neutral and nonaligned countries.

"New thinking in international affairs," A. Natta stated, "is now of the utmost importance. Particularly if the new ideas are embodied in concrete facts. In this instance I am talking about an event which, in my opinion, is the most important event in the international arena today—the reaching of agreement in Geneva on the Afghan problem." This agreement, he stressed, is an important sign of the Soviet Union's foreign policy will and boldness.

Athens Residents Favor Removal of U.S. Bases

LD191917 Moscow TASS in English 1906 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Athens April 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Vladimir Malyshev reports:

The majority of the residents of the Greek capital campaign for having U.S. military bases removed from the country's territory. This is seen from a public opinion poll whose results were published here today. The survey was conducted by a local research organization.

At the same time, as the poll showed, only nine percent of the residents of Athens believe that the government actually intends to phase out the bases. Seventy four percent of the respondents are sure that it is set to preserve them.

The local press attributes such pronouncements to the fact that if earlier the Greek Government stated that the bases would be removed from the country as soon as the term of the agreement with the United States expired, that is late this year, it now agreed under pressure from Washington to conduct negotiations on this subject. The fifth round of these talks went under way yesterday. However, it is so far unclear when and how they will end.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Continues Malta Visit

LD191523 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1430 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Valletta, 19 Apr (TASS)—A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet arrived in the Republic of Malta today on an official visit. The delegation is headed by Tengiz Menteshashvili, secretary of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet. This is the first visit by Soviet parliamentarians to Malta. At the airport the delegation was met by Jimmy Farrugia, th speaker of the Maltese Parliament, other officials, active members of the Malta-USSR Society, Vladimir Plechko, the USSR ambassador to the Republic of Malta, and the staff of Soviet institutions in Malta.

On arrival, the head of the Soviet delegation made a statement to the press.

The program of the Soviet delegation's visit includes meetings with Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami and acting president Paul Xuereb, a talk with representatives of the country's supreme legislative body, a visit to a shipyard and a factory, the Malta-USSR Society, and becoming acquainted with life and culture in the republic.

The focal point of attention in the talks is being given to pressing issues of international policy, problems of detente and disarmament, European security, further developing interparliamentary relations, and trade, economic, and cultural ties between the two countries.

The visit by the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation to Malta is a return visit to that made by a Maltese parliamentary delegation to the USSR in October 1986.

Today the delegation visited Parliament, where a session of the country's supreme legislative body was taking place.

CPSU Condolences Sent on Cypriot Party Leader

PM200813 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Undated CPSU Central Committee condolences to AKEL Central Committee on death of its General Secretary Ezekias Papaioannou]

[Text] To the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus [AKEL] Central Committee

Dear Comrades!

Accept our deepest condolences on the death of Ezekias Papaioannou, general secretary of AKEL.

Ezekias Papaioannou dedicated all his conscious life to the struggle for the working class cause, the vital interests of the working people of Cyprus, peace, democracy, and socialism. Life has lost a remarkable communist and internationalist and a true friend of the CPSU and the Soviet Union, who made a great contribution to the development of fraternal ties and cooperation between the peoples of Cyprus and the Soviet Union.

Convey our sincere condolences to the family and friends of Ezekias Papaioannou.

The CPSU Central Committee.

Latin America & Carribean

'Ambivalent' Contras Blamed for Talks Cessation

LD191220 Moscow TASS in English 1137 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 19 TASS—TASS correspondent Andrey Kurguzov reports:

Talks between the Government of Nicaragua and the contra leadership on the question of a final ceasefire ended in Managua with no result owing to the ambivalent policy of the contra delegation and a split in the camp of the so-called Nicaraguan resistance.

A brief joint statement for the press points out that questions pertaining to the implementation of the accords reached at Sapoa were discussed at the meeting in a straightforward and frank manner. With a view to fulfilling their obligations, the sides agreed to continue talks "at top level". In the coming days representatives of the two sides will begin preparations for a top-level meeting which is to be held in Managua on April 28-30.

At a press conference, Humberto Ortega, Nicaraguan minister of defence, emphasized a special importance of the talks despite the lack of specific results. They made it possible to achieve progress in many questions connected with a final ceasefire and the achievement of peace in the country. At the same time he stressed that the Nicaraguan people would succeed in defending the retolutionary gains from encroachments if the contras tried to frustrate the peaceful settlement process.

For his part, Adolfo Calero, the leader of the "Nicaraguan resistance," told journalists that the contras would carry on negotiations with the government despite attempts by certain forces to hinder the process [words indistinct] the contras would soon release all Nicaraguans taken prisoner.

Dobrynin Receives Haitian Communist Leader

LD191754 Moscow TASS in English 1735 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS [dateline as received]—Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, Deputy Chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee Karen Brutents met at the CPSU Central Committee with General Secretary of the Central Committee of the United Party of Haitian Communists Rene Theodore.

During a conversation that passed in the spirit of comradeliness the sides exchanged opinions on questions of the activity of the two parties, the present-day situation in the world and some aspects of the international communist and working-class movement.

Rene Theodore spoke about the work of the United Party of Haitian Communists in new conditions that formed in Haiti after the fall of the dictatorship, about the struggle of the party, of the Haitian people for the making of democratic transformations, against the attempts of the reactionary forces to preserve former orders. He expressed gratitude to the CPSU for solidarity with Haitian patriots and democrats.

Anatoliy Dobrynin spoke about the course of the revolutionary transformations of Soviet society, about the deepening of the processes of democratisation and glasnost, about the preparation for the 19th all-union party conference.

The outstanding importance of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles as an initial real step toward nuclear disarmament and the need for the development of this process were noted when international problems were discussed. The importance of the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan serving as an effective impulse for peaceful settlement of other regional conflicts was emphasised.

Bogomolov Assails U.S. Broadcasting to Cuba

PM19351 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 5

[P. Bogomolov article: "Murky Airwaves. Cuba in the Radio Saboteurs' Sights"]

[Text] Havana-Moscow—A murky ideological brew is bubbling in Washington's propaganda kitchen. Experienced cooks are sparing no efforts to portray the poisonous concoctions they spill out over the airwaves as a gourmet dish. A considerable portion of the ideological poison prepared in U.S. subversive centers for the peoples of the socialist countries is meant for the Cuban people.

By the mid-eighties, 24 radio stations on U.S. territory were regularly broadcasting to the Island of Freedom. Eight of them are on the lists of the so-called "Independent and Democratic Cuba"—a counterrevolutionary emigre organization in the pay of the CIA.

In an attempt to expand their audience in Cuba, the radio saboteurs have been forced to take into account the fact that for about 30 years in the Republic a new society has existed which has no experience of exploitation, poverty, hunger, epidemics, and illiteracy. In these conditions the U.S. subversive centers are attempting to act in a more sophisticated and subtle fashion, compensating for the fact that their ingratiating "voices" have become more muffled by sheer quantity and the growing scale of the anti-Cuban "psychological warfare."

The special center for anti-Cuban propaganda set up in Florida is playing a particular role in the campaign unleashed by Washington to seize the regional airwaves and ensure its domination of the Caribbean airwaves. To

distinguish it from the "voices" aimed at the Island of Freedom, it is enough to cite the 9-hour series of talks broadcast a little while ago by Rafael del Pino—a renegade who deserted from the Cuban Revolutionary Armed Forces. When interviewing him, his Washington employers cynically stressed that the microphones in front of the ex-general belonged not to some ordinary emigre radio studio but to a full-fledged branch of the VOA.

In other words, the Florida radio station represents new U.S. aggression, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, deputy chairman of the Cuban State Council, said. And we consider it to be precisely this. This is not some manifestation of spiritual life but an act of aggression and, moreover, one obviously dictated by subversive intentions.

The White House staff has openly taken over control of the den of radio saboteurs, which the United States has demagogically and blasphemously named for Cuba's national hero, Jose Marti. It has also determined the aims of the radio station, which is supposedly called upon "to give the Cuban people objective information and, among other tasks, to explain in detail the true price of Havana's alliance with Moscow." The Florida radio center is stubbornly trying to discredit Soviet-Cuban cooperation and to undermine friendship between our fraternal peoples.

Faced with the need to respond suitably to the attacks of its ideological opponent, Havana quite rightly included the question of the Florida radio station's provocative activity on the agenda of the Cuban-U.S. talks on migration problems which take place from time to time in Mexico. Moreover, Cuba's goodwill is perfectly obvious: Striving to normalize bilateral relations, it has agreed to bring back into force the 1984 migration agreement, which was wrecked by a fierce attack from Washington radio propaganda. But the systematic implementation of such a responsible document is impossible when Washington is whipping up hostility for all it is worth. Hence the conclusion: Either the U.S. side must stop its anti-Cuban broadcasting from Florida, or a Cuban radio station of similar power obtains the right to broadcast to the U.S. southern states and the Atlantic coast. Incidentally, the technical potential has already been created for this.

You would think that it was time for socialist Cuba's enemies to draw a sensible conclusion from this and, so to speak, scale down their unsuccessful propaganda marathon, which has lasted for decades. But, alas, sense disappears when Washington has the chance to make more trouble for the "perfidious Cubans" and to place new obstacles in their path. This time a project is being elaborated in the United States at a truly feverish pace to place... television retransmitters on board ships in order to bombard Cubans' screens with more portions of broadcasts which may be Spanish-speaking in form but are entirely Washington's in spirit.

"In short, even more militancy and readiness to meet the new attacks from the north fully armed is required from workers on our ideological front," Lisandro Otero, the prominent Cuban literary figure who leads the Cuban Union of Writers and Cultural Figures, said in conversation with me. "Assisting the party in every possible way, we have created a special commission to elaborate topical problems of counterpropaganda. It has clearly become necessary to adopt a special program of action by our creative intelligentsia to deflect hostile attacks and expose all kinds of fantasies about 'human rights violations and the absence of freedom of expression in Cuba.'"

...Thus there is an acute, unceasing struggle between two ideologies, two lifestyles. One of its fronts passes through the apparently serene expanse of the Florida Straits. Moreover, U.S. ideologists are increasingly resorting to the dirtiest forms and methods in this struggle. Washington's propaganda kitchen is bubbling away.

Further on Mokanu-Led Delegation in Cuba

Met by Aguirre

LD200012 Moscow TASS in English 2307 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 19 TASS—A delegation of Soviet members of parliament, headed by Vice President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Aleksander Mokanu, on its way on a good will mission to Caribbean countries, has arrived here.

At Havana's international airport the delegation was welcomed by Deputy Chairman of Cuba's National Assembly Severo Aguirre del Cristo and other officials.

The Soviet members of parliament will visit Guyana, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica where they will have meetings with representatives of the governments, parliaments and the public of these countries.

Meeting Held With Aguirre

FL192303 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2049 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Severo Aguirre del Cristo, member of the PCC [Communist Party of Cuba] Central Committee, met today with a delegation headed by Aleksandr Mokanu, chairman of the Moldavian Supreme Soviet. Aguirre, who is also acting president of the National Assembly of the People's Government [ANPP], expressed satisfaction with the meeting, which helps to further strengthen the relations between the two parliaments. He reiterated how happy he was over his contact with a delegation from Lenin's fatherland. For his part, Mokanu said he and his delegation were eager to tour Havana, and expressed interest in the construction projects carried out with the participation of the masses.

The Soviet delegation stopped in Cuba on its way to Guyana, which it will visit beginning tomorrow. It will then tour Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica.

Chilean Communist Leader Views Plebiscite

PY191817 Moscow in Spanish to Chile 2030 GMT 15 Apr 88

[First of two parts of article by PCCh Secretary General Luis Corvalan: "On the Plebiscite."]

[Text] "On the Plebiscite" is an article by PCCh [Communist Party of Chile] Secretary General Luis Corvalan. In today's program, we will begin reading this article in which Corvalan reviews the Chilean political situation and, based on this review, defines the PCCh stance.

The article "On the Plebiscite" has been published as a paid advertisement in several opposition newspapers and magazines and is also circulating in Chile as a booklet.

We begin reading it now:

It is not quite positive, but it is quite possible, indeed, that the plebiscite will be held. If this is the case, what are the chances of inflicting a political defeat to Pinochet, thereby paving the way for ending the dictatorship? We responded to this question in the PCCh declaration released in February:

The dictatorship can only, and must, be defeated by active mass demonstrations. If the plebiscite is held amid an all-out struggle against the regime, on all fronts and in different fields, it could be a positive event.

The PCCh is now making a call to organize this struggle, to support the demonstrations scheduled for March, to create the conditions for the plebiscite—regardless of its outcome—and to begin a popular rebellion leading to the overthrow of the tyranny. End quote.

Some people are trying to misrepresent our policy, making us look as though we have already taken a final position on not participating in the plebiscite and on declaring war on those who have decided to support the no vote.

Definitely, this is not the case. The truth is—and we stick to it—that it would have been better, and it still is, for the entire opposition to reject the plebiscite and ask for free and competitive elections until they are achieved.

We have not joined those who have decided to participate in the plebiscite under the no vote banner because, as we said in the aforementioned PCCh declaration released in February, an all-out struggle is, and must be, the driving force for the change required. With this in mind, we are trying to force a direct confrontation with the tyranny. We, the Communists, are making, and will continue to make, vis-a-vis every concrete situation, including the plebiscite, decisions that are most favorable for the people.

Under current conditions, the plebiscite appears to be a great fraud stemming from the Constitution, which, in its Article 8, establishes the proscription of political parties that are representative of large national sectors.

The fraud is under way. It is a huge operation including the indiscriminate use of political maneuvers, bribes, offenses, pressures, and threats; brazen involvement of the authorities; scandalous use of the entire state apparatus; transformation of the municipalities into active political centers at the government's service; open involvement of high-ranking Army officers supporting Pinochet, raids, detentions, kidnappings, and other forms of political repression.

In a nutshell, the dictatorship continues setting the rules. In early March, the dictatorship renewed the state of emergency and the state of internal disturbance, both of which permit the dictatorship to ban political meetings and to detain, hold incommunicado, exile, and sue the citizens at the dictatorship's free will.

In Santiago, Valparaiso, and other cities, the dictatorship brutally repressed the rallies held on the International Women's Day. The dictatorship maintains hundreds of political prisoners and journalists who have been indicted or sentenced to prison. Clodomiro Almeyda, the secretary general of the Chilean Socialist Party and the president of the United Left [IU] organization, remains in prison. Exile remains in effect.

The most important mass medium, television, remains under the control of the tyranny. Not only the state-owned station, but the university stations are active and used as daily propaganda agents for the dictator, whose activities and electoral tours are widely covered.

At the present time, says Luis Corvalan, conditions do not exist for the people's decision to be reflected by the ballots and much less so for the people's decision to be respected in the event of a hypothetical victory of the no vote. The vote cast at the secret election booth will not be a freely-expressed vote. There are hundreds of thousands of people who are under the indirect pressure of a coercive system expressly set up by the dictatorship.

There are many people who fear that their vote has already been monitored or will be monitored the day of the plebiscite. There will be a large number of Chileans who oppose the dictatorship and who will not be able to vote because they have not registered, mainly because of the expenses involved in obtaining new electoral identity cards [carnets].

The center-right opposition sector also wants to confuse the people by trying to make the no vote the key issue.

The plebiscite has not even been called yet and several stances may be considered once it is called, including not participating in it, disqualifying it, promoting blank votes or a boycott.

For us, the united struggle of all democratic forces and the end of the dictatorship is the key and foremost issue right now.

On the contrary, the Christian Democratic Party [PDC] and some of its allies are opposing an open struggle against the dictatorship and joint actions by the opposition. They are afraid of the people when the people begin playing a key role. In fact, they reject demonstrations or only hold them to campaign for the no vote. Such a stance does not guarantee a democratic victory and risks that the Pinochet dictatorship will perpetuate itself in power. This is the point.

The 13 parties that decided to support the no vote have warned that, in due time, they would withdraw from it if the electoral process is not sufficiently clean.

The PDC and some other parties are not listening to this warning and are not questioning any of the conditions raised, concerning the number of people registered at the electoral registry, the unrestricted exercise of public freedom, the use of mass media on an equal basis, and the rest of the prerequisites they mentioned.

We invite all opposition parties to act firmly and to create conditions leading to a change in the political situation, paving the way for the democratic cause. We invite them to take seriously the problem of the guarantees and struggle to obtain them.

In addition to the prerequisites mentioned last year by the Chilean bishops and in February 1988 by the 13 parties that decided to support the no vote, we must add the recognition of equal rights for all the parties, the immediate end of exile, the right to vote for the Chileans living abroad, and the release of Clodomiro Almeyda and of all political prisoners.

The Command against Fraud and for Democracy Organization, which was created following an IU proposal, should play a more important role in denouncing frauds. We especially call upon workers and the people to step up to the utmost their struggle for their own demands and for liberty.

'Text' of Gorbachev Response to Arias Letter

PA1904162988 San Jose LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 10 Apr 88 p 4

["Text" of letter from Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to President Oscar Arias; date not given]

[Text] Your letter to M. S. Gorbachev on the situation in Central America contains some statements that the Soviet party cannot accept. However, we do not wish to engage in a controversy because we believe that an explanation of our stand on those issues would be more useful.

Since the very beginning, the Soviet Union has supported the peacekeeping efforts of the Contadora and Support Group countries. It pronounced itself firmly and resolutely in support of the Guatemala agreements and stated its position that the conflicts in the region should be resolved by the Latin American countries, without any kind of foreign interference, based on the balance of interests and a staunch respect for the right of each country to select its own path of development. Seeking to contribute to creating the favorable conditions for the Guatemala agreements to be fulfilled, the Soviet Union addressed the United States with the proposal of mutually ending the supply of weapons (except for the ammunition used by police forces) to the Central American countries.

Mutual understanding has not been achieved yet on this topic but not through any fault of ours. The United States does not even want to hear any mention of any reduction in the U.S. supply of arms to Honduras and El Salvador, alleging "obligations" to those countries. Furthermore, in an ostentatious manner, it is delivering its modern combat aircraft to Honduras to increase its military presence in that country, which serves as a principal "contra" base. Can we demand that Nicaragua accept unilateral disarmament on these terms?

The Soviet Union is willing to assume, on the basis of reciprocity with the United States, the commitment to respect and rigorously fulfill agreements related to matters of security and control and limitation of armaments, in the event the Central American countries achieve these commitments within the framework of the Contadora process. We envision the United States encouraging the holding of negotiations provided for in the Guatemala agreements and securing agreements to reduce the level of warlike confrontation in the region.

Regarding the statement that the Soviet Union supplies arms to the rebel forces in El Salvador and Guatemala, we emphatically deny it.

In Moscow credit is given to the constructive contribution of Costa Rica and its president, in person, to achieving the Guatemala agreements. We hope Costa Rica will continue its efforts to fulfill these agreements for establishing peace in Central America.

We are sure that a peaceful settlement is possible in this region. However, in addition to goodwill and political determination, it also requires a responsible and constructive overview of the resolution of the real problems of the region.

[No signature block as published]

Political & Social

Gorbachev Meets Republican, Kray, Oblast Heads

LD201310 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Conference in the CPSU Central Committee: On 11, 14, and 18 April, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, held a conference with the first secretaries of the central committees of the union republican Communist parties, and of kray and oblast party committees. The activities of party organizations in managing restructuring were reviewed. A thorough exchange of opinions took place on the progress of preparations for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. A painstaking analysis was made of proposals relating to the need to further improve the political system, which should to the maximum degree be up to the tasks of restructuring, and should even more actively serve the cause of socialism and serve to bring about qualitative changes in it at the current stage.

The conference participants stressed the urgent need to deepen the processes of restructuring and persistently conduct the struggle for full and consistent realization of a radical economic reform and for solution of priority tasks, such as increasing output of consumer goods, food produce, and expanding housing construction.

All who spoke at the conference were united in their understanding of the basic mutual link between the success of restructuring and determined implementation of the party's policy of comprehensive democratization of social life, expansion of glasnost, and development of intraparty democracy, enhancement of the role of the soviets of people's deputies, and drawing in the broad masses of the working people into these processes.

Dolgikh Visits Chernobyl Power Station, Town

PM191241 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 18 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[TASS Headline: "Visit to Chernobyl AES"]

[Text] April 18 TASS—Almost 2 years have passed since the accident at the Chernobyl AES, and each day in these 2 years has been filled with enormous efforts by the Soviet people to eliminate its effects and with party and government concern for the affairs and needs of power workers, builders, and the evacuated population. Vladimir Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today visited the Chernobyl nuclear power station and the newly-built town of Slavutich.

Principal attention during the trip was paid to the issue of further measures to deal with the consequences of the accident, ensure the safe operation of the nuclear power station, and provide adequate working conditions and amenities for its personnel.

While at the Chernobyl station, Dolgikh inspected the state of affairs at the in-service generating units, was briefed on the condition of the crippled reactor and the progress of efforts to clean up adjacent territory, and talked to workers and specialists.

There was a meeting with the party and economic aktiv of the power station, at which the sides stressed the importance of strictly observing technological discipline, forming a stable labor collective, and stepping up work concerning the selection and training of cadres. A report by scientists and specialists on the state of the damaged reactor unit was heard.

Studies that have been conducted and permanent monitoring have shown that measures adopted after the accident have made it possible reliably to insulate the damaged generating set. All its parameters are stable and within completely safe limits.

Steady work by the power station is making a substantial contribution to providing the national economy with a reliable electricity supply.

A significant amount of work has been done to decontaminate the territory of the station and the areas around it, including the town of Pripyat. Plans have been mapped out for further work along these lines.

In Slavutich Dolgikh familiarized himself with the progress of work to build housing and the town's infrastructure, visited people who have just moved into newly-built apartments, and asked questions about the way shopping, consumer and medical services are organized in the town.

A conference was held with the participation of the government commission, senior officials from relevant ministries and agencies, and party and local government bodies of the Ukraine as well as Georgia, Azerbaijan, Armenia, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia whose construction organizations are helping build Slavutich.

It was pointed out that thanks to hard work by construction teams, more than 140,000 square meters of housing, a school for 1,300 students, day nurseries for 900 children and other essential social service centers have been built over a short time, with good quality ratings.

All this has made it possible to start settling the town with the families of the Chernobyl station's staff and expedite the switchover to using permanently-based rather than rotating personnel to man the station.

The conference discussed also further building plans concerning Slavutich and set the tasks of commissioning no less than 180,000 square metres of housing this year as part of a complex with social and consumer facilities,

stepping up work to provide all amenities and develop the municipal economy, and creating a ramified network of transport services for the residents of the city in good time.

Central Committee Views Fight Against Crime

PM191341 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 88 Second Edition pp 1-2

[Unattributed report on 2 April CPSU Central Committee deliberation "On the Situation in Combating Crime in the Country and Additional Measures To Prevent Delinquency"]

[Text] On 2 April the CPSU Central Committee adopted a resolution "On the Situation in Combating Crime in the Country and Additional Measures To Prevent Delinquency." It notes that the restructuring of all aspects of our society's life, radical economic reform, and consistent democratization and glasnost are organically linked with reinforcement of socialist discipline and rule of law and demand resolute action against any violations of Soviet law and order. In conditions of restructuring, working people are rightly expressing their indignation at instances of lawlessness and bureaucracy and encroachments on public assets, the legitimate interests of labor collectives, and the honor and dignity of the individual.

All this calls for raising the struggle against delinquency and crime to a qualitatively new level, stepping up the activities of party and state organs to further strengthen the socialist foundations of our society's life and protect Soviet people's collective and individual interests. As a result of the work done in this sphere since the CPSU Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, discipline and public law and order have been strengthened in the country to some extent. The work of party, state, and social organizations and labor collectives in eradicating delinquency, protecting socialist property, and overcoming drunkenness and drug addition has been stepped up. A steady decline in the crime rate has been under way since 1985. Last year the number of crimes decreased by 9.5 percent, including a 14-percent reduction in serious crime. A more active struggle has been waged against the embezzlement of public property, speculation, and law infringements in the sphere of transport; there has also been an improvement in the implementation of laws relating to environmental protection.

At the same time, negative tendencies which cannot fail to cause concern in the party and society have increasingly made themselves felt recently in the struggle against delinquency and crime. A source of special concern is a considerable increase in thefts of state, public, and personal property, bribery, the commitment of brutal, violent acts in a number of places, and an increase in juvenile delinquency and in the number of crimes committed by habitual criminals and people leading antisocial, parasitic lives. As before, a large number of crimes are connected with drunkenness, home distilling, drug addiction, and the acquisition of unearned income.

Many party, state, and social organizations, resting content with the general improvements achieved in combating crime, have of late relaxed attention to preventive educational work in labor collectives and at citizens' places of residence and failed to ensure stepped-up involvement of the working people in the protection of public order. Internal affairs, prosecutor's office, and legal organs and courts have been slow to restructure their activities. They are not fully implementing their duties in combating criminal encroachments and are very poor at enlisting the assistance of the working people and the Soviet public at large. Central party and state organs have received many letters about the poor work of militia and investigation organs and about the absence of proper protection of Soviet people's personal rights and property.

Stressing that the developing situation demands the adoption of additional, effective, and well coordinated measures on the part of party, soviet, economic, and law enforcement organs and social organizations, the CPSU Central Committee focuses the attention of union republic communist party central committees and party kraykoms, obkoms, okrug committees, gorkoms, and raykoms on the impermissibility of complacency and indifference in the assessment of the situation in combating crime. Party committee workers and the social aktiv must proceed from the premise that on the whole the crime rate remains high. The positive changes resulting mainly from stepped-up efforts to strengthen order and discipline and combat drunkenness have still not brought about a radical breakthrough in eliminating the causes and conditions which breed crime, especially in the production sphere, in daily life, and among young people and juveniles.

It is made incumbent on every party committee, taking account of the local situation, to carry out an in-depth analysis of the situation in combating crime and to elaborate and consistently implement all necessary measures aimed at further reinforcing the rule of law. Party committees are instructed to constantly ensure that broadly-based organizational, political, and educational work to reinforce law and order takes place, basic legal education for the population is provided, and individual pressure is applied to people guilty of deviations from the stipulations of Soviet law and socialist morality in every city, rayon, and labor collective in accordance with the directives of the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. It is especially necessary to enhance the role in this work of primary party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations. Communists and Komsomol members are called upon to march in the vanguard of the struggle to create a principled and exacting atmosphere

which rules out any laxity, indiscipline, or law infringements in every labor collective. The stipulation of the CPSU Statutes that communists guilty of lawbreaking under the criminal code are to be expelled from the party must be strictly observed.

The party Central Committee pointed out serious shortcomings in the work to combat crime of the bureaus and, personally, the first secretaries of the Dzhambul (Comrade A.K. Zhakupov), Zaporozhye (Comrade A.P. Savonov), and Mary (Comrade Ch. Gedzhenov) party obkoms in view of the fact that in 1987, the work to protect law and order and observe socialist legality was poorest in these oblasts.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers, kray, oblast, okrug, city and rayon ispolkoms are instructed to step up their organizational work to implement laws on the protection of socialist property and public order in all labor collectives and citizens' places of residence. It is necessary to make better use of the potential provided for radically improving the education of the rising generation and for preventing juvenile delinquency by the restructuring of public education currently under way in the country. It is necessary to enhance exactingness to improve the work carried out by local soviet standing commissions, inspectorates for minors' affairs, educational establishments, and voluntary public organs to prevent child neglect. It is also necessary to enhance the responsibility of the relevant organs and officials for individual educational work with every juvenile guilty of antisocial conduct.

The party Central Committee noted that in a number of places, there has been an unjustifiable slackening of attention to social organizations whose activity is connected with the involvement of the working people in the reinforcement of discipline and law and order. In this context, the resolution stresses that party, soviet, trade union, and Komsomol organs must do all they can to resolutely step up the work of voluntary people's squads, comrades' courts, councils of public posts for the protection of order, and the entire system of the population's voluntary public organs.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses the view that in conditions of the steady decline in the number of people punished with deprivation of liberty for crimes committed, the responsibility of labor collectives and state and public organs for preventing crime and reeducating perpetrators of unlawful acts increases manifoldly. Here special attention must be paid to the strict implementation of the stipulations of existing legislation relating to the provision of employment for people who have served sentences under the criminal code, people trying to avoid socially useful labor, and other nonworking citizens.

The USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR Prosecutor's Office, the USSR Ministry of Justice, and the USSR Supreme Court are instructed to adopt all measures necessary to eliminate the shortcomings in their work in combating crime. They will also pay special attention to the organization of in-depth analyses which will make it possible to identify sectors where work is poor in good time and to focus the efforts of law enforcement and other state organs and public organizations on the resolute eradication of negative phenomena in the law and order situation.

The party proceeds from the premise that every law enforcement organ worker must set an example of strict observance of Soviet laws, a high sense of responsibility for the reinforcement of law and order, and responsiveness and attention to people's needs and requirements.

Law enforcement organ leaders and party organizations and political organs in the system of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs are instructed to persistently enhance the level of workers' professional training, initiative, and responsibility for fulfilling their official duties and for the concrete results of their work on delinquency prevention and timely exposure of crimes, especially serious crimes, and to ensure the punishment without fail of criminals on the basis of the strict observance of the socialist rule of law. It is necessary to wage uncompromising struggle against crimes arising from drunkenness, home distilling, drug addiction, and violations of public discipline and order.

It was noted that it is necessary for prosecutor's office organs and courts to brief party committees more frequently on problems in the reinforcement of the rule of law, to exercise more fully their right to issue individual assessments and cautions to officials and state organs and, in cooperation with party and soviet organs, to strive for the unconditional eradication of the causes and conditions conducive to crime.

Readers Respond to Restructuring Debate

PM191207 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 11 April 1988 in its Second Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "Searching for the Truth: 'For' and 'Against'" a feature, covering two-thirds of the page, on restructuring and the second referent article in SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA. The feature is opened by the following editorial introduction:

"Judging by the first responses, the editorial article (PRAVDA, 6 April this year) has generated considerable interest among readers. It was attentively read and is still being discussed by the most varied groups. The phone calls to the editorial office are continuing.

"Most readers approve the provisions and conclusions of the article. But there are some clearly irritated notes in certain phone conversations. This confirms yet again the idea expressed in the article on the conservative opposition to restructuring. It shows that some people have gotten their wires crossed and are confused. The launch of democratization, the expansion of glasnost, and the

removal of all kinds of bans and restrictions have engendered a fear that we are shaking the very foundations of socialism. Some people still cherish a hope that we can return to a past that has been forever rejected by the party and the people. The irritated retort on the telephone—'Just why should party cards be taken away!'—emphasized yet again how difficult it is for some people to recognize the need for revolutionary thinking and action.

"But the restructuring process cannot be halted. This is shown by the letters we have received."

There then follows a 1,200-word article under the headline "We Suffered This Course..." by I. Kashchenkov, deputy chief editor of the "Znaniye" publishing house, attacking the "conformism" of the pre-1985 period and stressing the need for "everyday work" to build restructuring. This is accompanied by a 1,300-word roundup of readers' letters, under the headline "Like a Raw Nerve," on the problems of housing distribution and the rent payment system.

A further group of letters is published under the "Lines from Letters" rubric, the first of which reads as follows:

"Our history—the history of the party and Soviet society—has taken place, and it cannot be interpreted from positions of half-truths or by hushing up certain aspects or smoothing over trenchant and sometimes tragic situations. This approach is simply inconceivable even from the standpoint of common sense. Even people deafened by the tumultuous and unending applause of recent years find it impossible to understand these simple truths. That is why we have to talk not about people who 'do not understand,' but about people who do not accept. These people do not accept the ideas of truth, democracy, and glasnost, the ideas of the spiritual cleansing of society, which make up the very essence of the restructuring that has begun.

"Even by camouflaging their nonacceptance of restructuring processes in 'ideological' garb, they will not succeed in derailing from the course of historical truth those people who have awoken from their many years of social slumbers.

"But some people can still see the 'foundations' being 'rocked'! Some people still mourn the 'loss of faith' and see their only support in the former 'ideologically consistent' slogans and appeals. But what stops people finding the faith they seek in the simple and clear ideas of restructuring, or from joining in the struggle for their implementation? Perhaps we are again coming up against some lack of understanding of the policy of renewal? I think not. If certain workers do not show—at least publicly—their candid nonacceptance of the ideas of restructuring, we can undoubtedly discern their definite fear of it, their confusion, and their wait-and-see attitudes.

"A very apt description of the thinking of such figures can be found in the words of a Saltykov-Shchedrin character aptly quoted at the recent CPSU Central Committee plenum: 'I do not understand new ideas. I don't even understand why I should understand them.'

"G. Klimanov, architect. Klin City, Moscow Oblast."

The next letter reads: "Everything should be restructured. Bureaucracy has become ingrained within ispolkoms, party committees, ministries, state committees, and the administration of industrial enterprises. But scientific research institutes and the various design bureaus are beehives often tenanted by drones. They do not provide a drop of honey for the people, yet they receive masses of the people's funds.

"Whatever sector we take, we are at a low technical level, buying everything with foreign currency—from pesticides that combat poplar blight to powerful dumpers and computers. Certain ministries are now being abolished. Where will the released cadres go? To newly created committees and subcommittees? Will they go to industrial enterprises, where the administrative apparatus has so completely oppressed the workers? It seems that there is a process under way akin to that in connected vessels—nobody is transferred to a useful sphere of activity. There is no glasnost in this area.

"K. Zhemchugov, Moscow."

The third letter reads: "Restructuring is under way throughout the country and has finally started on the most important thing—people's consciousness. The most difficult and complex tasks lie ahead. The 'unskilled workers of restructuring' are already visible, the vague outlines of fellow-travelers and passive observers are discernible, but patent enemies are still 'masked.' They are alongside the 'unskilled workers,' and, therefore, their attacks on restructuring are felt in all areas.

"However, there are unfortunately new trends in attitudes to restructuring, namely overcautiousness. These people have different objections and reasons behind their slogans: 'How will things turn out if everything's restarted...?,' 'How could PRAVDA (!) print such things!,' or even more candidly: 'The campaign of criticism is alarming....' and so on. All this is not only about newspaper articles but about what, in my view, are certain clearly refreshing events and transformations in our reality.

"V. Kazmerchuk, Minsk."

A fourth letter reads: "The restructuring process, in my view, is still proceeding too slowly, and the armies of bureaucrats have already gotten used to it. They can be compared to Colorado beetles: We have been fighting them for many years, yet they still multiply and do colossal damage to the national economy. But beetles do less damage than bureaucrats. I believe that, if people are

honest and correctly understand our party's policy, they will have already restructured themselves or will be seeking ways to do so. But those who pay lip-service to restructuring while actually hampering everything should not be reshaped but simply cleared out of the way.

"Your newspaper should write more extensively and boldly about how certain ministers, obkom or gorkom secretaries, or plant directors have been removed from their posts for red tape and a reluctance to get in step with the times. The people themselves will be able to cope with fewer bureaucrats.

"V. Kupriyets, Kiev Oblast."

The feature also carries the following V. Lyubitskiy roundup of telephone calls to PRAVDA under the headline "First Responses":

"[First caller] 'Editorial office? This is a reader speaking. I've just finished reading your article "Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Actions...." I didn't understand why PRAVDA is trying to gag SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA and those who think like the writer of the article in that newspaper.'

"PRAVDA reminded him about the 27th party congress conclusion that there is no alternative to restructuring. It has supported people who have openly talked about everything bothering them. It has answered the questions of those who phoned the editorial office and were confused about whether SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA had given a signal to reject restructuring.

"[Second caller] 'Thank you, PRAVDA! You know, in our town, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA article was disseminated for study within the political education system. I don't know whose idea it was. Now, thanks to your principled position, everything has fallen into place. My comrades and I are even more sure that we are really not straying from the path of restructuring.'

"[Third caller] 'PRAVDA? I'm a war and labor veteran. I hadn't read the Andreyeva article before your article. Now I've found it, and I can see no reason to attack it in such a way. To my mind it's a highly patriotic article....'

"[PRAVDA] 'What do you mean by patriotism?'

"[Third caller] 'What should I mean by it?'

"[PRAVDA] 'For instance, in the past, it was thought patriotic to close one's eyes to difficulties and shortcomings and hush them up.'

"[Third caller] 'Whereas now, it seems, it's patriotic to run everything of ours down and castigate ourselves—is that it?'

"[PRAVDA] 'No, that's wrong. The essence of patriotism was stated quite clearly in the editorial article. We advocate total truth and honesty in assessments because without this, it is impossible to move forward. Patriotism can only be solid if it is based on truth and an active struggle for socialism—and that means a struggle for restructuring. Then we'll be justifiably proud of what we have achieved, and we won't make the same mistakes again.'

"[Fourth Caller] 'I understand why you made your article anonymous....'

"[PRAVDA] 'It wasn't anonymous; it was an editorial article—that is, it reflected the position of the editorial board....'

"[Fourth caller] 'I know, I know! You just got scared. I'd kick the people who wrote the article out of the party!'

"[PRAVDA] 'Do you think that would convince others that you are right?....'

"[Fifth caller] 'I'm a student at Moscow State University. I'm calling on behalf of a whole group. We read the Andreyeva article here the other day and argued about it a lot. Most people thought that the writer had just panicked in the face of the diversity of all the new, contradictory, and unusual things that have swept into our lives with the inception of restructuring. Of course, it would be quieter living in the calm of stagnation, and in many ways easier. But if we are going to be seeking peace and quiet, what kind of revolutionary changes can we talk about? Yet without revolutionary changes, our society would already be unbearable—isn't that obvious? In short, thank you, PRAVDA, for your support. And I'm sure that most young people are with you!'"

Restructuring 'Obscurantist' View of Past Needed

PM191441 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 19 Apr 88 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Yerofeyev article: "Broad Scope for Restructuring. Journalist's Thoughts on Eve of 3d Anniversary of CPSU Central Committee April Plenum"—boldface as published]

[Text] Sometimes we think: How time flies! It seems like only yesterday that the decisions of the Central Committee April Plenum and then the 27th party congress outlined the contours of the country's renewal. Now—3 years later—it is particularly clear that these were indeed only the outlines, since a great deal was still not clear and existed only in plans, schemes, and even dreams.

Everything still lay ahead—the critical power of the searchlight of glasnost, the first democratic initiatives that liberated human energy and ideas, the reorganization of the economy on an economically accountable basis, the new "second wind" for the cooperative system—all this was still ahead and still had to be politically

analyzed, worked out in theoretical discussions, verified in practical experience, and implemented in specific resolutions and actions. All this had to be implemented immediately and vigorously: Lack of resolve would just have complicated the difficult legacy of the past—an economic, political, and moral legacy—which we had decided to finally and irrevocably eschew. Revolutionary tasks were incompatible with the evolutionary sluggishness of the recent past; the country was waiting and longing for change.

Now 3 years have passed. Three years of search, analysis, acquisition, hope, experiment, and discovery. Things have by no means gone smoothly in all areas—that was hardly to be expected. There were also elements of euphoria after the initial successes, and cases of dismay after initial failures. We had to overcome conservative, skeptical sentiments that had condemned restructuring ahead of time, and adventurist attempts to resolve accumulated problems by dashing wildly ahead. We combated the stench of drink in production and the stench of lies, we introduced a breath of fresh air into cadre offices and restored the prestige of earned rubles, we assimilated the initial lessons of democracy, we blazed a trail for the supervisors of restructuring, and we learned to recognize demagogues and soap-box rabble-rousers. In short, the start was, quite frankly, difficult.

But the most difficult restructuring still had to take place (and it still does) within ourselves.

The past 3 years have clearly shown this: All the changes relating to whatever sphere of our life—be it political, production, or social—will only really take place when we are able to restructure ourselves, our views, ideas, habits, and life stances. A great deal is currently being written and said about this. The problem, however, is that writing and talking about this is far easier than actually ridding ourselves of our personal burden of the years we have lived through—a burden that has built up over the course of years and is therefore so tightly bound up with each one of us.

Let us be frank: The time of inertia and stagnation could not fail to affect the "human factor" also. We grew accustomed to many things, tolerated many things, and started viewing many things almost as outsiders. Growing social apathy persistently cultivated a mentality of "individuals as outsiders" complacent about the concerns and destiny of their own social home.

It is probably only now that we are clearly starting to realize how much grime and soot have gradually built up in our beloved home. Behind an outwardly successful facade—on which beautiful slogans were regularly hung on public holidays—crime, corruption, sycophancy, careerism, unearned income, and drunken idleness felt more and more at home. Yes, of course, despite all this our home continued to exist. People went to work, organized subbotniks, studied, fell in love, sang songs, educated their children, went in for science, wrote poetry, set records.... Despite everything. But there was more and more grime building up, and the trouble was that we were becoming more and more used to it. Ultimately the issue assumed crisis proportions: Would socialism continue to exist or not, would revolutionary gains be retained or not? Would the morass of stagnation swallow everything that had been achieved in the last 70 years of struggle and work, or would it be possible to cleanse socialism once and for all, give its values and ideals new health, and qualitatively renew our life, making it worthy of Soviet people?

This task, as we all realize, will take more than a single day or a single year. The party Central Committee will soon report to the 19th All-Union Party Conference on the progress in implementing it. But even today we can see the correctness of the conclusion drawn by the CPSU Central Committee general secretary: In embarking on the path of restructuring, **"the party and people have generally managed to break with the trends presaging a crisis in society, and have been able to return society to the path of profound revolutionary transformations. This is the main political result of the past 3 years."**

Does this mean the difficulties and opposition to restructuring have been left behind? Of course not. There are plenty of difficulties at the moment, and there will be plenty in the future. Moreover, one does not have to be particularly clairvoyant to see that many restructuring problems will inevitably build up for a certain time. Otherwise there could be no such thing as a period of revolutionary change. The abandonment of old, edict-style management methods in production and their replacement with economic incentives, the democratic restructuring of political institutions, the planned price reform—these and other radical, truly surgical measures for improving society's health cannot be carried out painlessly or, so to speak, selectively: They will affect some people and pass others by. There are no spectators in restructuring—everyone is a participant, each and everyone. The further restructuring goes, the more tangible will be its influence on people's interests. It is not abstract interests that will clash in this drama, but quite specific interests measurable in ordinary, profoundly "everyday" indicators, including material indicators. Thus, the economy's transition to the principles of economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-capitalization will undoubtedly reveal not only how people work, but also who earns what—be they individual workers or whole collectives. This means that many people will continue to hanker after the "good" old times ("good" is the word), when people were paid for just turning up at work (preferably sober) and for "gross" indicators, even if this "gross" production was left to pile up at warehouses for low-quality output. The former setup will surely be fondly remembered by those workers in the administrative apparatus or at sector scientific research institutes who will in the future have to change job since production collectives will consider their presence superfluous. And how it will! Not to mention the

various Adylovs, Churbanovs, and Shchelokovs [former officials accused of corruption]—both those who have been caught and those still at large—who hate restructuring with a vengeance.

One thing is clear: Restructuring cannot please everyone. Nor is it meant to, since, either directly or unintentionally, it is treading on a considerable number of toes.

Today we can see that the running shoes of restructuring are often too tight even for those who, it would seem, ought by dint of their jobs to welcome and support the course of acceleration. For instance, it is not hard to imagine the current confusion of a leader grown accustomed over many years to a single style of leadership—the command and pressure style. His job now obliges him to "mobilize the masses" to develop democratic initiatives; but, for one thing, he does not have a clue how to go about it and, for another, is it easy to overcome himself when for the last 2 decades he has arbitrarily led "on behalf and on the instructions of others," without taking people's initiative or opinions into account? These leaders know how to make bureaucrats out of democrats—they have "been there." But how to do the "reverse" and replace their authoritarian style of yesterday with today's democratic styles? That really is difficult! Is that not why state orders at ministry and state planning offices often turn into state commands, and certain party committees continue to see their main role as being to organize economic rush jobs?

Are managerial offices the only place where restructuring has set the cat among the pigeons? Would it not be more correct to talk about the mental and moral restructuring that is currently taking place in each of us? For surely none of us who were young in the thirties, forties, or fifties will easily and painlessly give up the past—our ideas, views, and positions.

The logic of action and approaches dictated from above was quickly picked up on by certain people for careerist and tactical reasons, but many people really sincerely believed that this was the only way to operate and that all this was the "only correct" and fair approach. By today rejecting the pernicious accretions of the past, we are thereby carrying out an operation on our own soul, our own consciousness, and our own way of life. Like any operation, this one is difficult.

Needless to say, we are all children of our time, and it would not be very ethical now to point the finger at people and ask suspiciously: "What did you do before April '85?" That, of course, is not the point. The point is that managers, scientists, workers, journalists, in short, everyone—provided they are not excessively self-opinionated—should today reassess and review a great many things. We must honestly say to ourselves that the burden of the past has numerous visible and invisible threads holding us back—customary privileges, established views, the education we received.... It is hard to relinquish this burden at one go!

But to battle and win we must be well aware of what and who are hindering changes. As M.S. Gorbachev stressed in his speech to leading workers of the Uzbek SSR, **"ideological support for restructuring is now of paramount importance."** That is why this question was posed so sharply at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, at the All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers, and in the PRAVDA editorial article "Principles of Restructuring: The Revolutionary Nature of Thinking and Actions." Restructuring, like any revolution, requires a resolute and essentially revolutionary breakthrough in awareness and modes of thought and the persistent assimilation of new approaches.

You will agree that those people who yesterday were singing the praises of the former course and now are prepared to give upbeat reports on how they have already definitely restructured themselves are not very believable. Need we show that restructuring presupposes not unthinking and worthless denial, but dialectic negation—retaining and building up the valuable and permanent aspects of what has been achieved, gained, and hard-won by many generations of Soviet people.

It would be utopian to presume that the difficult dialectics of restructuring would be immediately understood by everyone. It is no surprise to continually hear concerned questions asking: Is everything being done correctly? Are we not abandoning our spiritual values, our heroic past, and our great ideals? We could, of course, pretend that these questions do not exist, but we have already learned a few things recently and we are well aware of the impact that such unresolved or allegedly "finally resolved" questions—such as the nationalities issue, for instance—can have. It would be strange if we did not ask ourselves these burning questions: After all, we are not doing cosmetic repairs—we are engaged in fundamental restructuring.

We also have to discuss this because we sometimes simplistically divide society into the so-called supporters and opponents of restructuring. This is often done by analogy with past class clashes, when each warring faction was backed by clearly expressed and often opposed interests. Now too certain philosophers, asking who gains and who loses from restructuring, are starting to draw up pseudoscientific diagrams. They include virtually the entire managerial apparatus in the section of opponents of restructuring along with petty thieves and spongers. There have also been attempts to find enemies of restructuring in virtually all informal associations and organizations, and even to see age (!) as a criterion of a different attitude to it.

One reads such calculations and believes right away that there are no greater conservatives in our country than ministers, kolkhoz chairmen, ispolkom chairmen, and association directors. Funny? It is no laughing matter! This kind of irresponsible theorizing—which, incidentally, has been picked up by certain journalists—instead

has sorry consequences, since it gives a false impression of some kind of demarcations within society and cultivates mutual distrust and social hostility.

How far removed all this is from real life! **"If I were to try to describe the present situation in our society, I would point with no hesitation to the predominant sentiment among working people and the entire population of the country—to carry out restructuring firmly and consistently, without balking at difficulties, and to do it in a revolutionary way."** Those present in the hall where the Fourth All-Union Congress of Collective Farmers was being held heard the thunder of applause supporting those words of M.S. Gorbachev's, and probably thought once again about the fact that 3 years of restructuring had not been for nothing: The ideas of renewal have become ideas about the genuine, informal consolidation of the party and people.

Yes, of course, there are opponents of restructuring and they will not disappear all at once. Yes, they undoubtedly include those whose egoistic interests—including group and short-sighted interests—are opposed to the novelty of social transformations. But it would be at least hasty not to see the main thing—the unanimous desire of the working country to make our life fairer, purer, and materially and spiritually richer. Therein lies our common fundamental interest, that is the main criterion of our attitude to restructuring!

It is understandable that this unanimity undoubtedly does not deny that there are differing ideas about ways to achieve these goals. Moreover, today more than ever we need to be aware of different options for solving urgent tasks. The richer the range of our discussions, experiments, quests, and initiatives, and the more democratic our discussion of urgent problems becomes, the more guarantees there will be against mistakes, hasty conclusions, or subjective vacillation. In short, it is a question of ensuring that the country's public opinion "works" fruitfully and constructively. And, of course, with complete glasnost.

One other thing is worrisome. It is not easy to give up our past, but even that is not the point. Most of the doubters are sincere patriots for whom socialist ideals are cherished and sacrosanct. The only trouble is that in some people this concern sometimes becomes frankly obscurantist, harking back to a time when greatest store was set by the ability to submit to orders and doubt nothing. Now the restoration of the truth about bitter aspects of the past is seen by some of them as a shaking of faith in ideals, the appearance of cooperatives is seen as private enterprise, glasnost is seen as a breeding ground for demagogues, and democratism as posing the threat of anarchy.

We have often talked recently about the transitional period which our economy is experiencing, and the "coexistence" within its economic mechanism of old and new structures. I think this transitional state is also typical today of all other spheres, including the spiritual sphere. It will take time and patience to become accustomed to a socialist plurality of opinions and to learn to respect alien points of view. It will take considerable effort to change the outlook of those who are accustomed to live and work by the book, unthinkingly submitting to commands from leaders, and those who still take, as it were, a jaundiced view of restructuring, maliciously registering its "failures" and scaring us with "consequences" to come.

But could it be otherwise? The dead have a grip on the living! That was K. Marx' warning. There can be no doubt that the dead weight of the past will still often try to drag us down through bureaucratic sabotage, hack work, irresponsibility, slipshod work, chauvinistic arrogance, national pride... There is one conclusion: Victory will not come by itself—we will have to fight for it and for every line of the party resolutions, for every frontier of restructuring.

The goals of restructuring are difficult, unbelievably difficult. We will have to revive Lenin's concept of democracy, the Leninist type of party leader, and the Leninist face of socialism. What can we say—it is a gigantic project. But it is worth living and working for the sake of these goals.

New Rubric on Party Conference Appears

WA18000278 [Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 3, February 1988 carries on pages 7-24 a new rubric entitled "Towards the 19th All-Union Party Conference." The introduction to the rubric is brief:

"The 19th All-Union Party Conference will examine the course of implementing the decisions made at the 27th CPSU Congress, sum up the achievements of the first half of the 12th 5-Year Plan, and discuss the further democratization of the life of the party and society.... Beginning with this issue, PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN is opening a forum for discussing preparations for the All-Union Party Conference. We invite our readers to take part in an exchange of opinions and to openly express themselves on the most topical issues involved in the restructuring of party life."

The first item in the rubric is an unattributed editorial entitled "The Primary Party Organization [PPO]—The Main Link in Restructuring." In a general discussion of the PPO's role as the advance guard of restructuring, the editorial emphasizes several of its most important functions. The PPO is to "experiment, to boldly undertake the introduction of innovations." It is to ensure a "high degree of discipline in fulfilling party decisions." In particular, the PPO is to help implement new systems of economic management:

"Many enterprises have now transferred to new systems of cost-accounting and self-financing.... This places particular demands on managers. Party organizations must help management cadres to master the requirements of the second stage of restructuring.... It is important for Communists in labor collectives to make maximum use of the experience of enterprises already working in the new conditions. Economic training must be significantly expanded, and workers must be taught to organize labor in the framework of the new economic mechanism.... The Law on State Enterprises requires the particular attention of the PPO. It must be thoroughly studied, and every step, every decision, must be checked against its statutes."

The editorial stresses that primary party bodies are to be organized by means of democratic elections. "In the selection and placement of cadres the PPO must boldly expand its democratic foundations. The election of leaders must become the rule and not the exception."

There is to be no tolerance for Communists who do not work according to these principles. "The fact that certain party organizations are taking a long time to master these new approaches in organizational and ideological work, that they are trying to avoid the difficulties of the moment, cannot be accepted.... Party committees are called on...to eliminate the obstacles slowing down their work." In this regard the editorial cites with approval an experiment undertaken by the Sverdlovsk party obkom which led to major changes in the composition and activities of local primary party organizations. The obkom "carried out an examination of the fighting spirit of the PPO's. In the course of this examination each Communist was asked, 'What has been your personal contribution in trying to realize our goals? How has it been concretely manifested?' As a result, the practical activity of 31,000 Communists was found to be unsatisfactory. They took on new obligations which correspond to the demands of today. 40,000 were given new party assignments. 5,000 Communists received various party reprimands and almost 800 were expelled from the CPSU. In accordance with proposals from party organizations, more than 480 managers were removed from their positions, and almost 2,500 people were promoted to more responsible work." The editorial ends on a cautionary note: "The examination of political maturity, fighting spirit, and efficiency is not over."

The rubric continues with a report on a recent plenum of the Pavlodar Communist Party Obkom in Kazakhstan. After describing various successes and shortcomings in the obkom's work, the report closes with a series of proposals made for discussion at the coming party conference. One of the proposals suggests granting to the party raykom the right to determine the size and structure of its own apparatus. The report points out that "in solving internal problems of life, the party raykom is constrained." It is therefore suggested that "the raykom itself should decide, within the limits of the funds allocated to it for salaries, how many and what kind of established posts to have in the apparatus." It is further proposed "to decide, at the discretion of the party raykom, to reduce the number of department chief positions and to transfer their functions to the secretary directing that given sector of work. This will make it possible to reduce the size of the raykom apparatus." The participants of the obkom also want "to carry out the election of (party) secretaries by secret ballot."

The last section in the new rubric, which is entitled "We Submit Proposals," contains letters from various PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN readers. The first letter is from A. Smirnov, chief of the organizational department of a raykom in Vologda. He proposes holding frequent raykom elections in order to replace Communists who for one reason or other are no longer active in their posts, or who simply do not fulfill their responsibilities. "In my opinion, party documents ought to grant permission for elective organs to be renewed between conferences, at party raykom plenums, so that the raykom can elect new members to replace those Communists who have left (the apparatus), or who don't work actively. This opportunity should also be granted to party committees of primary organizations. This will make it possible to replace personnel in a timely fashion and to free ourselves from the ballast of undisciplined people."

Smirnov also suggests "reducing (the number of raykom plenums held a year) to two or three, which will enable workers in the apparatus to spend more time in the localities, to occupy themselves with the actual organization of affairs, and to strengthen their control over the fulfillment of both party resolutions and their own decisions." He mentions the need for changes in the structure of the raykom apparatus and proposes that "raykoms be given the right to decide for themselves how to place their cadres most effectively, taking into account the specific conditions of the rayon and its long-term tasks for restructuring." He also feels that "party organizations of up to 150 members should be allowed, at the Communists' discretion, to conduct elections by means of both secret as well as open balloting."

Finally, Smirnov considers that party secretaries are often prevented from efficiently carrying out their tasks by their dependence on economic managers. He suggests "defining a series of measures to substantially enhance the role of the party secretary. Possibly a statute 'On the Status of the Party Organization Secretary' should be adopted, which would define precisely his responsibilities, authority, standing with the administration, and right to receive prizes, bonuses, and other incentives."

Readers Propose Topics For Party Conference

WA18000284 [Editorial Report] Moscow PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN in Russian No 4, February 1988 carries on pages 37-39 several letters from readers proposing topics for discussion at the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference in June. The section is entitled "We Submit Proposals."

V. Chernyshev, a raykom first secretary from Primorskiy Kray, complains about too much centralization in party work:

"In studying the reasons for the insufficient degree of activity among Communists and of fighting spirit in party organizations, one most frequently concludes that the basic fault lies in the over-organization of party work.... Over-organization is being rooted out only with difficulty. Why is this?

"In our opinion, this is the result of the extreme centralization of party work. One of the ways it is manifested is in the unjustifiably large number of questions which are recommended 'from above' to be discussed at party meetings and at raykom buro meetings and plenums. These questions are not always topical for a given party organization. In such cases, at both party meetings and even plenums it is frequently impossible to translate the resolutions of higher organs into the language of the practical tasks of a specific rayon or enterprise.

"Every year more than half of our party meetings and a large part of our plenums have been carried out on the basis of a 'recommended' agenda. A great deal of effort and time are invested in preparing for them, but the results are not always commensurate with the investment.

"In order to avoid interruptions in discussing an issue, a list of speakers are prepared in advance. Needless to say, discussion in such circumstances is uninteresting and bland. It turns out that the fear of calling forth the dissatisfaction of a higher organ exceeds a feeling of responsibility towards Communists for the business at hand.

"Every day practical experience confirms: the more independence a party organization has, the more responsibility Communists have for the final results of their activity, the more room there is for creativity in their work."

Chernyshev also complains about the practice of sending candidates for party positions to Moscow to be interviewed by the central organs, a practice which, even with increased emphasis on democratic elections, has remained the rule rather than the exception.

"How can the preliminary approval of a candidate by the higher organs, a procedure which remains obligatory, be reconciled with greater democracy in elections? For example, when preparations for the election of the secretary of the metallurgy industry workers' kraykom trade union were underway...the responsible workers of the trade union central committee insisted that the proposed candidate be interviewed by them in Moscow. In the course of the elections three candidates were nominated at a meeting of the kraykom trade union party group. All three of them stood as candidates at the election, but only one of them was interviewed. This 'tradition' has also been followed at the election of two CPSU raykom secretaries at our plenum. It seems that in such cases democracy is regulated, and, consequently, is incomplete."

T. Sharukhiya, a party secretary from the Abkhaz ASSR, wants to change the procedure for conducting party meetings:

"In 1 month we have party, trade union, and Komsomol meetings and sessions of the party buro, trade union committee, and Komsomol Buro. Doesn't that seem like a lot of meetings and sessions? For this reason I propose: to call meetings in all primary party organizations...no less frequently than once every two months. Then we will be able to prepare for them better and to conduct them better, and we will have a great deal more time for actual organizational and educational work among the masses."

PARTIYNAYA ZHIZN No 5, March 1988, carries on pages 39-41 a similar feature entitled "The 19th Party Conference. Suggestions and Thoughts from Communists." N. Kudryashov, a kolkhoz party committee secretary, wants to do away with quota systems in the formation of party bodies:

"In my opinion, the practice of forming elected organs on the basis of qualifications on paper is not always justified. Filling percentages for age, sex, education, and specialization frequently result in people with little initiative becoming members of party and Komsomol committees or deputies. Now, when we are democratizing the process of forming the elected bodies of social organizations, we should renounce approaches useing percentages and base our choice on the political, practical, and moral qualities of the candidate."

A. Bespyatko of Moscow considers it necessary to "differentiate between the work of party and soviet organs" in order to "strengthen the political leadership and organizational, ideological, and educational activity of party committees on all levels, and to increase the responsibility of the councils of ministers of union and autonomous republics and executive committees of local soviets for the integral solution of economic and social tasks.

"I propose that the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference examine the question of radically changing the nature of the work and organizational structure of party committees in order to completely eliminate the possibility of (party bodies) supplanting soviet and managerial organs. In this way they (party committees) will be able to devote all their strength and energy to the activization of the human factor."

RSFSR Leader Explains Aspects of Labor Law

PM131347 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 28 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with V.P. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, conducted by own correspondent S. Bogatko: "Priority to Creation"; date and place not given—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Amendments and supplements have been made to the labor law codes by decrees recently adopted in union republics: They are now in force, enshrining positive changes in the socioeconomic life of society. The CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum reaffirmed the party line of strengthening the socialist rule of law and resolutely supported the idea of organizing universal study of law as an integrated, comprehensive, statewide program embracing every stratum of the population and all our cadres. The law's strength resides in its being thoroughly understood and precisely carried out. PRAVDA correspondent S. Bogatko asked V.P. Orlov, chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, to comment on the most important provisions of the new legislative act that has come into force.

[Bogatko] Vladimir Pavlovich, what are the basic thrusts of the amendments to the Labor Law Code, and what is their motivation?

[Orlov] The decisions taken are directly bound up with the radical economic reform and democratization of the life of society. Briefly, we are talking about legislative consolidation of the priority accorded to conscientious, productive, high-quality labor. The power of labor collectives to resolve questions concerning enterprises' production and social development has been considerably boosted. The power of the administration, the labor collective council, and the trade union committee are more precisely delineated. Favorable conditions are being created for developing initiative and enterprise on the part of enterprises switching over to full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing. Personal responsibility for the quality of work and output is being enhanced.

[Bogatko] What are the specific measures underpinning this line?

[Orlov] I'll give some examples. Previous legislation did not allow for workers' skill categories or employees' salary scales to be reduced for displaying an unconscientious work attitude. This is, however, a very effective measure for stimulating labor activity and enhancing responsibility for the quality of output. The Labor Law Code now authorizes the administration to augment, first and foremost, the skill categories of workers who successfully meet norms and have a conscientious attitude toward their duties. At the same time, a worker's skill category may be lowered by one grade for gross breaches of discipline or other serious misdemeanors resulting in a deterioration in output quality. As for the salary scales of subunit leaders, specialists, and employees, the administration may alter them within certain limits based on the results of assessment.

It is now possible to make good, flexible use of the work force. The movement of a worker to another job in the same enterprise, establishment, or organization, to a different structural subunit in the same locality, or his assignment to another machine or unit within his speciality, skill area, or post as laid down under the labor contract, is not now considered a transfer.

[Bogatko] Does that mean that the administration now has more rights in general?

[Orlov] No, it's not a matter of the rights. Instead, the interests of the enterprise and the worker are now more harmoniously integrated, since under the Law on the Enterprise (Association), the prosperity of the whole collective directly depends on overall work efficiency. The amendments and supplements made to the Labor Law Code recognize this new situation. For example, the administration, together with the trade union committee and the labor collective council, is authorized to establish labor, social, and consumer benefits for certain categories of workers and employees out of their own resources. In addition, the administration and trade union organization are enabled to incorporate in the collective contract provisions not previously envisaged under legislation in the area of the economic and social development of an enterprise or organization. But, of course, benefits have first to be earned.

[Bogatko] All manner of artificial restrictions and wage-leveling ceilings in the remuneration of highly efficient work have long acted as a serious brake on the development of working people's initiative.

[Orlov] Such barriers and obstacles have been removed. The legislation provides for everyone's wages to be determined on the basis of the end results of his or her work and their personal contribution to the collective results of labor—with no upper limit. It envisages the mandatory replacement of labor norms by new ones as job certification and rationalization is carried out and new equipment, techniques, and organizational-technical measures ensuring labor productivity growth are introduced. But there is a very important proviso, namely, that achieving a high level of efficiency by certain workers or a team through their own initiative and applying new work methods are not a basis for reexamination of the norms.

I would like to stress once again that the restrictions that previously held back the creative potential of workers and employees to increase the productivity and quality of their labor have now been removed by law. Everything now depends on the level of activity of workers, employees, and the leadership of enterprises, ministries, departments, and local soviets. By using the new economic and

moral incentives for highly productive, quality work, they can combine the interests of every worker and the labor collective with nationwide interests and, on this basis, drastically speed up the pace of our society's socioeconomic development.

[Bogatko] Enterprises have begun switching over to full economic accountability and self-financing. This is leading to redundancies. Could you, please, comment on the new section in the labor legislation that provides citizens with legal and social safeguards for the exercise of their constitutional right to work?

[Orlov] Let us make it clear: The right to work means the right to receive guaranteed work remunerated according to its quantity and quality and no lower than the state-fixed minimum. This is not simply the right to any work but the right to choose one's vocation and kind of occupation or work in accordance with one's calling, ability, vocational training, and education and in the light of society's needs. This very important socialist gain remains unshakable under restructuring. At the same time, we must realize that no fundamental increase in labor productivity or, ultimately, acceleration of socioeconomic development will be achieved by us unless enterprises and organizations shed surplus workers.

[Bogatko] Occasional reductions in the number of workers did occur before, although they mainly affected the managerial apparatus.

[Orlov] These are now targeted measures the scale of which will grow as the economic mechanism improves. However, redundancy in a planned economy does not mean unemployment but the redistribution of labor resources among sectors and spheres of the national economy and professions. The need, therefore, arose not only to develop an economic mechanism to release and reallocate workers but to provide legal backup for this process.

[Bogatko] Redundant workers' right to work is guaranteed in a special section of the Labor Legal Code which defines the procedure for their redundancy, benefits, and compensation. How is this going in practice today?

[Orlov] Enterprises and organizations in the RSFSR have already axed hundreds of thousands of jobs. Fifty-six percent of the released workers basically found jobs within their own enterprises and organizations. Eighteen percent retired, and 16 percent found work in other enterprises and organizations either with the assistance of their own enterprises or independently. Only 10 percent were found work with the assistance of organs dealing with labor and social problems.

Centers and bureaus to find jobs for, retrain, and provide vocational guidance to the population of cities and regions are now being set up, and they must be strictly guided in their activity by the Provision on the Procedure for the Release and Reemployment of Employees and the Granting of Benefits and Compensation to Them recently ratified by the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems and the AUCCTU. The work experience of Tyumen, Tula, Ulyanovsk, Moscow, and a number of other oblispolkoms which have devised and are implementing comprehensive systems for managing labor resources deserves dissemination.

Tactfulness and concern for redundant workers and all-around consideration of the interests of different categories of working people must be shown.

It should also be borne in mind that with the extensive development of cooperative forms of management in the country, some redundant workers may be able to find employment in cooperatives.

[Bogatko] The question of those who have reached pensionable age is also now being tackled in a new way....

[Orlov] Yes, the administration can now cancel the labor contract of workers of pensionable age. But it is also authorized to retain on the basis of the previously concluded contract those who work conscientiously, pull their full weight, and enjoy deserved prestige in their collective. The administration is tackling this issue in conjunction with trade union committees. The employment of other workers of pensionable age with the necessary length of service to qualify for a full pension may be continued by signing a new labor contract for a period of up to 2 years or terminated on the administration's initiative, but again with the consent of the trade union committee.

[Bogatko] Could you, albeit briefly, say something about the new section entitled "The Labor Collective," which is devoted to problems of a labor collective's formation, functioning, and development? Why has this this question been given so much space in the new legislation?

[Orlov] The party now attaches crucial significance to the democratization of society. The labor collective of an enterprise, establishment, or organization is the basic cell of socialist society and under the USSR Constitution exercises extensive power in the political, economic, and social life of the country. The USSR Law "On Labor Collectives and the Enhancement of Their Role in the Management of Enterprises, Establishments, and Organizations" was adopted in 1983. However, under bureaucratic-command-based management methods, this law was effectively a dead letter. Now the principles of democratizing management have been enshrined in the USSR Law "On the State Enterprise (Association)" and the Labor Law Code. Very important questions such as labor collective self-management and the power of a general assembly (conference) and council, election of

leaders, formation of the basic unit—the team—distribution of the collective's earnings, and the mutual responsibility of the administration and the team are also being regulated.

The experience of many advanced collectives shows the great effectiveness of the initial steps to democratize management. The labor collective's advice plays an appreciable role in the life of Leningrad's No 71 Trucking Enterprise, whose chairman is V. Chuprov, leader of a team of drivers. Extensive application of the principles of democratization and self-management on an economic basis have made it possible to tighten order and discipline, organize an extensive search for reserves, and improve working and living conditions.

Laws do not exist in a vacuum. The main thing now is to organize in-depth study of the Labor Law Code and universal legal education in every collective. Soviets must step up their monitoring to ensure the new labor legislation is carried out without fail.

Georgia Supreme Soviet Views Management Reform

PM191409 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent T. Chanturiya report: "Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet Session"]

[Text] A Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet session has discussed the draft general plan for the republic's national economic management.

The developing reform of economic management, O.Ye. Cherkeziya, Supreme Soviet deputy and chairman of the Georgian SSR Council of Ministers, noted in his report, envisages a far-reaching improvement in organizational structures. The fact that these structures have become outmoded is evident, because in the last 15 years the administrative division of the Georgian SSR has not changed at all. Yet there has been intensive growth in the number of ministries, departments, and various organs of management at republic level and also in the number of people employed by them. There are no more than 7 workers to each member of the administrative-management apparatus, and there are considerably fewer enterprises and organizations to ministries and departments than the average for the country as a whole.

The measures to enhance the efficiency of leading organs and better combine sector and territorial interests which have been taken in the republic—from the well known Abasha and Poti experiments to the integration of the management of the agro-industrial complex at republic level—have nevertheless failed to eliminate high-handed administrative methods of leadership.

The draft general management plan submitted to deputies envisages considerably simplifying the structure of the administrative apparatus, reducing its size, and increasing its efficiency. The transformations are based on the principle of combining similar or interconnected sectors in a single administrative organism and eliminating intermediate links. The republic plans to abolish 22 ministries and departments and halve the size of the central administrative apparatus. Qualitatively new republic-level organs of management are being formed at the same time, and these will be responsible for complexes of related sectors such as construction, motor transport, fuel, and so forth.

Major measures are envisaged to further regulate the structure of the Georgian Gosagroprom and its subdivisions. The management of the social sphere is also being changed, eliminating organizational divisions.

Similar work is being done in the autonomous formations: The Abkhaz ASSR, Adzhar ASSR, and South Osetian Autonomous Oblast. Of the 74 organs of management in these regions, 30 are to be abolished.

We have some intensive work ahead of us, the speaker emphasized, and local soviets have a special role to play in this. Essentially, we are shaping all the conditions necessary to really increase their independence and initiative. It is important not to lose our grip on the levers of economic management in the transitional period and to be able to solve problems on the spot, so to speak. These issues, and also the difficult problems connected with laying off thousands of experienced, competent working people, were discussed by Deputies R. Dzhaparidze, O. Zukhbaya, Z. Badzgaradze, G. Mgeladze, Z. Imanova, and other participants in the debate.

Deputy I. Menagarishvili, the republic's minister of health, answered an inquiry by a group of deputies concerning the construction of health projects in Akhalkalakskiy Rayon.

The Georgian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted a decision to form a standing commission for inter-nation relations and international education and made a series of changes to the Presidium.

Turkmenia To Streamline Management Apparatus

PM191225 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Own correspondent V. Kuleshov report under the rubric "Union Republic Supreme Soviet Sessions": "Turkmen SSR"]

[Text] A Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet session has examined the draft general plan for the management of the republic's national economy.

It was noted in the report by A.M. Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Turkmen SSR Council of Ministers, and the speeches by those who took part in the debates that the present system of management is obsolete and seriously out of tune with the development of productive forces and production relations. The republic now has 45

ministries and departments. During the last 15 years alone the number of apparatus officials increased 70 percent. Administrative edict methods predominate in management, and questions concerning the development of oblasts and rayons are often been solved from narrow departmental positions. This has particularly affected the utilization of resources, the solution of social problems, and the raising of the population's living standards.

The draft management plan submitted to the deputies envisages a significant simplification of the structure by handing some of the functions of republican organs directly to labor collectives. It is proposed to abolish 16 ministries and departments and to halve the size of the central apparatus, thus combining the leadership of complexes within related sectors in qualitatively new management organs.

The role of local soviets will grow in the new conditions of economic management, it was noted at the session. Departments or planning-economic administrations, whose tasks will include the elaboration of comprehensive plans for the economic and social development of territories, the monitoring of their fulfillment, and the leadership of economic activities under the soviets' jurisdiction, will be set up under them.

The abolition of two oblasts—Ashkhabad and Krasnovodsk, the deputies said, will increase the workload of ministries and departments and the republic Council of Ministers. Those who do not proved their mettle in deeds, who continue to think and act in the old fashion, and who lack initiative in work must get out of the way. The apparatus must be reinforced with people capable of competently solving the new tasks.

The Turkmen SSR Supreme Soviet also adopted a decision on setting up a permanent commission on questions of inter-nation relations and appointed its members.

Kazakh Premier Cited on Management Streamlining

LD151038 Moscow TASS in English 0913 GMT 15 Apr 88

[Text] Alma-Ata April 15 TASS—Work has begun in Kazakhstan to effect a new master plan for streamlining economic management.

Commenting on it in a TASS interview, Nursultan Nazarbayev, chairman of the Council of Ministers of this Soviet Asian Republic, said the existing multitier system of economic management contradicts the need for management through mostly financial rather than administrative levers.

"A total of 1.8 billion roubles a year is still spent in this republic on the upkeep of the inert, outside bureaucratic apparatus which has grown by 265,000 people, or 1.4 times, as compared with 1970," Nazarbayev said.

He said the staff levels of ministries and agencies will be halved over the next two years.

Two out of Kazakhstan's administrative regions, namely the Mangyshlak and the Turgay ones, will be abolished and joined to the economically similar neighboring regions, Nazarbayev continued.

The two areas were proclaimed administrative regions in their own right in the early '70s and have been allocated millions of roubles in capital investments for development purposes, but their practical contribution to the economy of Kazakhstan has shown practically no growth.

The changes made in their administrative status now, the head of government of Kazakhstan said, "will make it possible to develop their economies and social services in a more balanced, comprehensive and efficient way".

A number of urban and rural districts are being enlarged, which will help cut the number of administrative personnel by 33.6 percent at just the regional level. Thousands of experienced executives will then shift to jobs in the productive sphere and in the services.

Nazarbayev said economic improvement in Kazakhstan is connected first of all with the new system of economic management.

Already, over 500 factories (or 30.6 percent of the overall number of industrial facilities) in Kazakhstan are financially self-supporting. They are responsible for more than a half of all industrial production in this republic.

New pay-your-own-way state production amalgamations, covering the entire cycle from research and development to investments to production to marketing and servicing, will become a new form of major economic units, Nazarbayev said.

First Link Open in Transcaucasus TV Exchange

PM200729 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 12 Apr 88 p 1

[Report by own correspondent I. Verdiyan: "Requested by the People of Karabakh"]

[Text] Yerevan—Quite soon, during the May holiday, the inhabitants of Nagorno-Karabakh or, to be more precise, the inhabitants of Stepanakert, Askeran, Shusha, and adjoining settlements will be able to watch Armenian TV broadcasts. But the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution on measures to speed up the socioeconomic development of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] in 1988-1989 will not stop there. Let us recall that the resolution specifically instructed the USSR Communications Ministry and the USSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting to draw up and implement before the end of next year a package of

measures to provide the population of the NKAO and adjoining regions with high-quality reception of nationwide television and also broadcast to the region the full Azerbaijani and Armenian television programs.

Communications workers in the two fraternal republics are planning work to further increase the reception area of television broadcasts to the NKAO, to organize radio broadcasting, and increase the number of intercity telephone lines between Armenia and Nagorno-Karabakh.

It is gratifying that this problem, which was the subject of fruitless discussion for many years, has been resolved very quickly. The great sense of responsibility and commitment of the communications workers and specialists of the union ministry and of our republics in implementing the decisions contained in the important party document and the state of technical readiness of the television broadcasting system have, of course, played their part here, according to Armenian Communications Minister A. Mirzoyan. Armenian communications workers have, for example, carried out considerable preparatory work on the republic's territory to organize mutual reception of the Transcaucasian republics' television broadcasts. A Yerevan-Goris radio relay line has been set up with the installation in Goris of a powerful station relaying television broadcasts from Armenia to Azerbaijan.

But that does not end the good news. It is planned to complete next year the drawing up of general plans for the satellite distribution of all broadcasts by Armenian, Azerbaijani, and Georgian television to the three republics.

The day is near when an Armenian television announcer will say to his fellow-countrymen in their own language: "We now begin a concert requested by the people of Karabakh..." Spiritual contacts among the peoples of the three Transcaucasian republics have been long awaited.

Armenian Resolution on Reform Measures Published

PM200913 Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 1

[24 March Resolution of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium: "On the Tasks Involved in Fulfilling the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution 'On Measures Associated With the Union Republics' Appeals Concerning the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's'"]

[Text] After examining the appeals from the presidia of the RSFSR and the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, Kazakh, Georgian, Lithuanian, Moldavian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmen, and Estonian SSR supreme soviets in connection with the situation which has arisen in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's, the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium expresses profound gratitude to the union republic supreme soviet presidia for the fraternal peoples' kind support and regards it as a manifestation of concern for the preservation of the Soviet peoples' unity and cohesion and of the basis of the USSR as a unified multinational state.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has examined the question of measures associated with the union republics' appeals and adopted an appropriate resolution.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium deemed it inadmissible when attempts are made to resolve complex national-territorial questions by means of pressure on organs of state power, in a situation where emotions and passions are running high and all manner of arbitrary formations [obrazovaniya] intent on recarving the national-state and national-administrative borders enshrined in the USSR Constitution are being set up, which may lead to unforeseeable consequences. The Presidium resolutely condemned the criminal actions perpetrated by individuals and groups, which have resulted in human casualties.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium approves and accepts for guidance and unconditional fulfillment the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Resolution of 23 March 1988 "On Measures Associated With the Union Republics' Appeals Concerning the Events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the Azerbaijan and Armenian SSR's."

The republic's working people received with satisfaction and in a businesslike fashion the Appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia and the CPSU Central Committee Politburo decision to task the Central Committee Secretariat with organizing a profound and comprehensive study of the accumulated problems in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, the reasons for the exacerbation of interethnic relations around it, and the elaboration of the appropriate proposals.

The Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decrees:

1. That Armenian SSR soviets of peoples deputies, guided by the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums and by the Appeal by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to the working people and peoples of Azerbaijan and Armenia, take steps to normalize the situation on their territory and ensure a calm, businesslike, labor rhythm in production collectives and the normal working of scientific institutions and educational establishments by mobilizing the efforts of working people and the entire population for the successful resolution of the tasks of restructuring; that, together with party, trade union, and Komsomol organizations, the deputies and the aktiv of the soviets of peoples' deputies radically improve mass political and educative

work among the population in the spirit of the unshakability of the Leninist principles of national policy and of the friendship and cohesion of the Azerbaijan and Armenian peoples and all the USSR's fraternal peoples.

2. That the Armenian SSR Council of Ministers and the republic's ministries and departments ensure the smooth working of enterprises, construction sites, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, and all establishments and the unfailing fulfillment of state plans for the first quarter of 1988 with a view to fully ensuring contracted deliveries, and endeavor to secure the observance of plan and state discipline everywhere.

3. That the republic's soviets of peoples' deputies, the Armenian SSR Prosecutor's Office, and the Armenian SSR MVD take the requisite steps to strengthen socialist legality and public order, to ensure that the lawful interests of citizens of all nationalities are protected, and resolutely to curb actions destabilizing the situation and infringing the friendship and cooperation of the fraternal Soviet peoples.

4. That—considering that the activity of the so-called "Karabakh" committee does not accord with the Armenian SSR Constitution and existing legislation, has assumed a politically damaging character, and is contrary to the people's interests—the so-called "Karabakh" committee be deemed illegal and its activity terminated.

5. That proposals be sent to the Azerbaijan SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium regarding the implementation of coordinated joint actions to strengthen socialist legality and public order, ensure that the lawful interests of citizens of all nationalities are protected, and strengthen the friendship and cooperation of the fraternal Soviet peoples.

G. Voskanyan, Chairman of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

N. Stepanyan, Secretary of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Yerevan, 24 March 1988

Protest 'Spectacle' at Visa Department Deplored

LD191634 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Leonid Lazarevich commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] Western news agencies reported today on a demonstration in Moscow of persons allegedly deprived of the possibility of leaving the country. Our commentator, Leonid Lazarevich, who was on the spot, tells us what really happened.

[Lazarevich] Let's start with what I saw. About 20-25 people gathered outside the OVIR [Otdel viz i Registratsiya Inostrannykh Grazhdan: Visas and Registration Department of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs] building around noon. They stood outside the entrance and unfurled a piece of material on which was written: "Stop the illegality." Also there appeared on Sadovoye Koltso half a dozen—not fewer—camera crews from the Western mass media. The crowd on the steps was preventing people from getting into OVIR or leaving it. Naturally, representatives of the militia asked the assembled people not to get in people's way. What is called the demonstration lasted 14 minutes. Then, the so-called demonstrators calmly entered the building and registered for reception.

An OVIR representative said the case of each one of those who had gathered at the entrance is being examined in strict accordance with established rules. In general, I would have found it incomprehensible to see why this spectacle was arranged outside the building if the Western journalists had not arrived for it in good time. Well, you know, U.S. Secretary of State Shultz is due to arrive in our country soon. Serious talks lie ahead. Here we have someone displeased with the fact that decisions may be reached facilitating an improvement in relations between our two countries. Some director arranged the spectacle.

[Announcer] Well, I remember that something similar, a similar presentation, was set up outside the television building just before the visit by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the United States.

[Lazarevich] Yes, and the aim was one and the same—to increase tension before important and serious talks. You know that Western television is unlikely to show this demonstration as an important subject; true, this time the people demanding the right to leave did not try to depict things as if they were supposedly being beaten up or arrested. It was all very peaceful.

[Announcer] Sadly, however, a provocation is still a provocation.

Nizhniy Tagil Antipollution Rally Reported

PM181229 [Editorial Report] Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 April 1988 carries on page 4 a 4,800-word report by "our correspondent" V. Sanatin entitled "Smog Over The City." The report, datelined Nizhny Tagil, Sverdlovsk Oblast, lauds the initiative launched by that city's Komsomol organization to stop pollution there. The main pollution offender, although several plants are said to be in breach of environmental health standards, is the Nizhniy Tagil Metallurgical Combine, specifically two old banks of coke boilers in use there, the paper claims. The problem was of long standing, according to the writer, when there occurred a "breakthrough in social awareness. The epicenter of that breakthrough, to universal surprise, was the Komsomol Gorkom." This action was prompted by

the increasing health hazards posed by industrial discharges, the paper notes, pointing out that the Komsomol did thorough background research into the medical, environmental, and legal aspects of the problem before submitting clearly defined demands. The attempts by the authorities at local and ministerial level (the USSR Ministry of Nonferrous Metallurgy) to quell the wave of protest are itemized in considerable detail. Eventually, however, a demonstration involving more than 10,000 people did take place on the main town square and an appeal to the USSR Council of the Ministers signed by at least 8,500 inhabitants of the city, including the author, was sent, the report states. As a result one of the banks of coke boilers has been closed down, although the other is still operating. Sanatin says. He cites a worker who participated in the "environmental rally:" "This is the first evidence of restructuring in my home city." The events described in the report seem to be recent, but no precise time is indicated.

SELSKAYA ZHIZN Journalists Discuss Tasks

PM191255 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 9 Apr 88 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Correspondents' Conference"]

[Text] An own correspondents' conference has been held at the SELSKAYA ZHIZN editorial office to discuss the editorial collective's tasks in further and more profoundly covering the restructuring taking place in the country, the activity of all sectors of the agro-industrial complex, and progress in the preparations for the 19th all-union party conference. Much attention was paid to work with readers' letters, increasing the effectiveness of articles published, and other topical questions.

I.I. Skiba, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Agricultural and Food Industry Department; N.I. Demidov, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs; Academician A.M. Yemelyanov of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences; and K.V. Kunitskiy, director of the "Ramenskoye" Agro-Industrial Combine in Moscow Oblast, spoke at the conference.

Nenashev on Restructuring in Publishing Industry

LD161940 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 16 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 16 TASS—"The most difficult thing now is to overcome the contradiction between what we publish and what people really need", Mikhail Nenashev said in a conversation with journalists. The chairman of the USSR State Committee for Printing, Publishing and Book Trade spoke about the restructuring proceeds in this area.

"From the beginning of this year, all the publishers passed on to cost-accounting and self-financing," he said. "The decision has been taken on the further democratisation of creative and organisational activity of the publishers. Their rights have been widened: They make decisions and endorse the plans of the publication of literature, decide on the impress."

Public opinion polls showed that along with classics and works of contemporary authors are greatly in need of books containing practical knowledge, specifically encyclopaedias, dictionaries, reference books. They are included in a program of mass demand for 1988-1990.

The Soviet Union is one of the world's biggest publishers. At the same time, however paradoxically, there is a shortage of books in the country. This problem is being solved in a comprehensive way, with the orientation mainly at the readership. One of the main directions in the work to overcome the shortage of books is the introduction of the subscription to collected works of classics without a limit on the number of copies, so that everyone wishing should be able to subscribe. The three-volumed collection of Pushkin's works, for instance, has already been brought out in nearly eleven million copies. The subscription to the two-volume collection of works by Lermontov has been concluded. It will be published in 15 million copies. It has also been decided to start publishing books at the expense of their authors. The preference will be given to those whose works have not been published before, the chairman of the committee said in conclusion.

Mironenko on Falling Komsomol Membership

LD181136 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1910 GMT 16 Apr 88

[From the "View" program, presented by Molokov with Viktor Mironenko, first secretary of the Komsomol Central Committee]

[Excerpt] [Molokov] [Passage omitted] Viktor, I have a question: it is known that in the year that has passed since the 20th Komsomol Congress, the number of Komsomol members in the country has dropped—I don't know the exact figure, perhaps you'll correct me—by about 2 million people. So what's going on? What sort of a process is this?

[Mironenko] It's not quite like that. I'd put it this way: From the very highest level of membership of the organization, which was something in the order of 42 million in 1982, the organization's membership had fallen by 4 million by the beginning of 1988, and by approximately 2 million in the last year alone. It is a long process. It has been going on for about 7 or 8 years. It is difficult to explain with any single reason. It is very hard to give an unambiguous answer. We tried to provide an answer at the congress, and we tried to give an answer at the second plenum. We said that the Komsomol was on the very brink of a most profound crisis of confidence among young people toward the organization. The reasons are very varied. A year has now passed since the congress. Perhaps for the first time now in these first 3 months of the year, the membership of the organization has started

to increase, by a very little, a very inconsiderable amount. But the valuable thing for us is that it has started to grow in this situation today without any pressure, without any force on the part of the Komsomol Central Committee or of Komsomol organs. [passage omitted]

Journalist Denies Attack on Restructuring
PM190807 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Ye. Losoto under the rubric "Viewpoint": "Thanks for the Attention"]

[Text] My article "Obliviousness," which criticized the nationalist views and hooligan actions of some leaders of the "Pamyat" Society, was published toward the end of May last year. This article marked the end of my former life, in which I was merely an author, and transformed me into the heroine of other people's publications.

Since we, despite everything, are pursuing a line against cases of manifestation of chauvinism and nationalism, there is an incessant flow of insulting letters from people who dislike this line. It is virtually impossible to reply to them all, and there are some letters which you simply do not want to answer. There is also incessant attention from certain literary circles. One of the gentlemen who addressed the last writers' plenum was particularly witty and described us as publishers of anonymous letters because we use a tiny fragment of these letters in the newspaper.

Alluring prospects opened up. In just the few months after the article "Obliviousness" was published, I was noticed by two newspapers and five journalists, and even twice by some of them.

But A. Nuykin surpassed them all in NOVYY MIR (see this year's issue No. 2. "Ideals or Interests?"). He put under the microscope 40 (!) of my articles written over many years of work, identified them as an ideological attack on restructuring, and decided to expose me in good time so that, at some crucial moment in the future, I am not able to divert the country from the path it is following to a path which is to my own liking. According to A. Nuykin, people like me have already harmed our economy twice in the last 70 years. If I were allowed to, I would do this once more, for the third time, and society would again give in to my frenzied pressure.

Passion is always blind, this is understandable. It always exaggerates the objective features of the person against whom it is directed, this is also understandable. It is also pleasing. Until the publication of A. Nuykin's article, I had not even suspected that I was so strong, but now I can at least suspect that this potential lies within me. Imagine if this really were the case....

Let us look at the most serious charges.

First of all—the accusation of "leftism" (left-wing or leftist deviation). According to A. Nuykin, I suffer from exceptional "leftism," which, being feeble-minded, I confuse with revolutionariness. Two of my articles are cited by way of proof, one about Chernyshevskiy, the other about Lenin. The first contains a section in which I protest against the fact that Nechayev, an adventurist and a murderer, was held up as symbol of the revolutionary movement's left wing.

The article contains the following quotation from Engels: "A country which has produced two writers like Dobrolyubov and Chernyshevskiy, two socialist Lessings, will not perish because it has also produced a scoundrel like Bakunin and a handful of immature kid students who utter bombastic phrases, puff themselves up like frogs, and ultimately devour one another."

This is followed by my own text:

"But it was Nechayev who was taken to represent the left wing in our country, and for some reason or another neither Chernyshevskiy nor Dobrolyubov are to be seen on our stages or heard in our conversations.

"The dirty side of the Russian movement comprises an ancient slew of conservatives, in some cases people who do not realize they are conservatives but think of themselves as 'humanists.' A handful of kid students are turned into a bogey to frighten the man in the street. Do they really personify the left wing?"

Let us take the other article—the one about Lenin and the Lenin guard. It contains a section about Dzerzhinskiy. Here it is.

"...Quite without fear of death, he had no bodyguards and traveled in open-top cars in Moscow's suburbs and all over the Union. People told him to be more cautious. His reply was:

"'Why? In case I'm killed? Big deal.... A revolution is always accompanied by deaths.... This is the most commonplace matter.... And why value yourself so much?.... This is ridiculous.... We are doing our party's work and nothing more....'"

And now just look what A. Nuykin does to my two articles. He picks up bits and pieces from them, puts them together, adds something of his own, and makes the ideas of the author he is quoting convey the completely opposite impression. Here is his text:

"As far as Ye. Losoto is concerned, radicalism and leftism are synonyms of revolutionariness. Genuine revolutionariness. The fact that the debate about the immorality of Nechayevism has been revived simply infuriates her: 'A handful of young students are turned into a bogey to frighten the man in the street.... They either use Nechayev as a warning to us or they ridicule us" (26 September 1986).

"Indeed, the young student blundered—not only did he kill his comrade in revolutionary struggle but he was also caught. But why worry, what is there to be scared of? 'A revolution is always accompanied by deaths.... This is a most commonplace matter' (10 April 1985)."

This collage produces an accusation of "leftism," of leftist deviation. The quotation about Nechayev has been twisted to give the completely opposite impression, Dzerzhinskiy's words have been attributed to me, and his attitude toward his own safety has been cynically transformed into my own attitude toward human life in general. I'm a supporter of Nechayev or Pol Pot, a member of the "Red Brigades".... An accusation of leftist deviation is a serious accusation and it must be proved, not based on garbled facts.

The entire section of A. Nuykin's article devoted to me is structured in the same way. This sharp practice is made quite presentable: Every quotation, plucked from wherever suits A. Nuykin and planted wherever he wants in his text, is annotated, supposedly to indicate the source. I have no desire to pick on every single instance. But I have to pick on something else so as not to give the reader the impression that the example above is an exception in A. Nuykin's article. It is, unfortunately, not an exception but the rule, it is this author's usual methods of polemics.

Here is a quotation from one of my articles analyzing incentives for labor: "The study of creative incentives for labor is closely related to this topic. Indeed! For a long time now readers have been calling on us to halt, telling us: Stop propagandizing nothing but ruble incentives! Do you not realize that you are encouraging acquisitive interests and the thirst for profits?

"It is impossible to leap over the need for fair distribution through wages, wages must be determined strictly according to labor."

The article goes on to talk about material and moral incentives and, finally, about "a qualitatively new, creative incentive for labor as stemming from genuine human nature, as something without which personality is simply nonexistent."

What is objectionable here, and why object? It is impossible to object. It is, however, possible—or so it seems—to erase from the article everything connected with the creative incentive so that it disappears without a trace, it is possible to extract and discard as useless the fundamental tenet about the need for distribution according to labor, and to make out that I, you see, am suggesting ideas "instead of rubles" and propagandizing "total lack of personal interest in labor."

And how do I intend to implement my ideas? Since it is difficult "to encourage people to work on the basis of a total lack of interest in labor," I have no intention of standing on ceremony with those who feel "uninspired": "There is the good old sergeant's principle: If you can't, we'll teach you; if you don't want to, we'll make you! You'll even learn to fly without wings!"

Thus the propaganda of the loftiest creative incentive to labor has been turned into propaganda of forced labor, in other words, slave labor. What is the purpose of this basely cynical, mischievous rehashing of someone else's work?

Now we will have to depart this sinful earth altogether and make our way to the realm of mysticism. We have arrived at the analysis of my article "Aristocrats of Spirit." The article is a commentary on a letter from a group of representatives of the creative intelligentsia who proclaimed themselves "the focus of civic thinking in the fatherland." They are convinced that their children are called upon "to create the spirit" rather than "to slog." They uphold the "tradition of dynasty and hereditary privilege." My commentary was a criticism of these views.

The way A. Nuykin presents it, it appears as a demand for a "great redistribution," as if I am convinced that "anything we like can be expropriated whenever we feel like it." And since I did not say a single word about this, he "confirms" my "intention" by quoting abundantly other authors published in other publications.

Of course, I am convinced, and have never made a secret of my opinion, that every adult must work himself rather than living on interest earned by his parents' capital. I am convinced that matters ought to be organized so that it is impossible to live on interest. But I have simply never dealt with questions of inheritance (and yet I am being "exposed" actually for my views on the inheritance of property and money).

Nonetheless, the call—which I never made—to expropriate surplus property and money has been analyzed in detail and exposed, and my nonexistent articles are described as having "really caused a stir." This is mysticism. A mystical analysis of something that is totally nonexistent.

This fragment of A. Nuykin's article concludes as follows: "Attempts are being made with mysterious persistence to divert the tracks on which our life should roll into the future in a direction where thieves are always the winners and working people are the hopeless losers. And are, moreover, fingered as thieves. This is how the 'proletarian ideology' turns out."

My opponent revels in mockery of "proletarian ideology," and, at the end of the chapter devoted to me, informs the reader that I have not even bothered to read through the "Communist Manifesto," in which (according to A. Nuykin) Marx and Engels outlined the theory of "Christian socialism." This also smacks of mysticism: Only a few lines in the section on "feudal socialism" in

the "Communist Manifesto" are devoted to "Christian socialism," but the "Manifesto" does contain the point about abolition of inheritance rights.

Why should I want to divert the country along tracks leading in a direction where thieves are the winners and working people the losers? Because it is for some reason necessary.... After all, I must have had a reason for having "committed an act of strategic importance": I have diverted the anger of ordinary people from bribe-takers and embezzlers of state funds and directed it against... ordinary people themselves. I have turned them against themselves—this is what I have done! And how did I manage to do it? Very simple: By adding the general term "private ownership phenomena" to the words "embezzlement," "bribery," and "speculation." And why? Simply in order to protect bribe-takers and embezzlers of state funds from the ordinary people's anger....

As you read, you cannot believe your eyes.

The result of the breaches of propriety and of elementary norms of professional ethics and culture is that my opponent erodes his own and other people's dignity.

What would my opponents from NASH SOVREMENNIK and today's NOVYY MIR seem to have in common? In my view, a common "logic," a common desire to use all means to discredit those who perceive restructuring as consistent implementation of Marxist-Leninist ideas and strive to prevent the processes which are now occurring from sliding away from socialism. It is these unseemly attempts to discredit people that constitute an antirestructuring stance, and even though they may shout "Restructuring, Restructuring!" until they drop, this does not change anything.

Briefs

Dissident Author's Death

Frankfurt (DPA)—Maxim Sladkiy (real name Vladimir Sergeyevich Maksimov), the Russian samizdat author, has died after a long term of imprisonment in the Soviet Union, the International Society for Human Rights (IFGM) has announced in Frankfurt. The author, born in 1920, became known mainly through novels, including "Nike Petrogradska," as well as essays and poems all of which were underground publications. Among them were satires on penal psychiatry. Quoting civil rights campaigners in the Soviet Union, the IGFM announced this weekend that Sladkiy had died some time ago in the special Sychevka Psychiatric Prison. With a few breaks in between, he had been imprisoned since 1937. [Text] [*LD172347 Hamburg DPA in German 1536 GMT 17 Apr 88*]

Armenian Television Broadcasting

Communications workers in Armenia today completed a program of measures aimed at ensuring reliable reception of Armenian TV broadcasts in Nagorno-Karabakh. The signals will be relayed to Stepanakert from Armenia's latest retransmitter station in the village of Yerablur. The next 2 weeks will be spent adjusting the new television communications channel, and on 1 May, the people of Stepanakert, Shusha, Askeran, and adjacent villages will be able to watch the May Day parade in Yerevan. The reception zone will eventually be expanded to cover the entire autonomous oblast. The telephone network connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia will also be expanded. [Summary] [*LD170005 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 16 Apr 88*]

Scientific

Zaytev Interviewed on Solar Energy Project

AU201033 Moscow in Romanian to Romania 1600 GMT 14 Apr 88

[Report on 13-14 April interview with Yuriy Zaytsev, scientific researcher at the Institute for Space Research of the USSR Academy of Sciences, by an unidentified reporter with regard to a project studying the space surrounding the earth and solar activity]

[Summary From Poor Reception] Not long ago, some 200 men of science from the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Poland, the GDR, Cuba, the CSSR, Austria, Canada, Finland, France, and a number of institutions of the European Cosmic Agency met in the Soviet Union to examine a cosmic project.

"This project proposes to make a comprehensive study of the circumterrestrial space [spatiului circumterestru] by means of four artificial satllites." This method is viewed as the most promising method of studying physical processes taking place in near and outer space.

Therefore, our first question to Yuriy Zaytsev was just what will be studied during the (?Intervol) project:

"The whole universe, including the sun, interstellar and interplanetary space, as well as the higher strata of the atmosphere—the ionosphere—that is, some 99 percent of our galaxy, is made up of plasma, of very specific gaseous substances, Zaytsev said. This is why the study of the circumterrestrial and interplanetary space boils down, to a considerable extent, to the study of plasma. The aim of the Intervol project is this very study."

In 1 second the sun emanates an enormous amount of energy in the form of electromagnetic radiations. However, only a nominal part of this energy reaches the terrestrial atmosphere. "The constant intensity of solar energy ensures relatively stable conditions for life on earth. There are, however, instances when this intensity

changes all of a sudden. Usually this is explained by so-called solar eruptions. In a matter of minutes, energy is released capable of meeting mankind's needs for hundreds of years."

"For quite some time now scientists have been thinking about the possibility of capturing this energy with the help of accumulating solar batteries."

"What influence do these eruptions exert on our existence on earth, and how can we benefit from them?"

During these big eruptions, solar energy reaches the lower strata of our planet, and this influences meteorological conditions. To become acquainted with the peculiarities of these solar eruptions is important for weather forecasts, which in turn is important for agricultural operations, for the construction of roads and bridges, and so forth.

According to scientists, these phenomena cause considerable anomalies. "In August 1972, one of the greatest solar eruptions slowed down the earth's revolution speed. As a consequence, the earth's atmosphere was seriously disturbed. This led to flooding and torrential rainfalls in various parts of the globe and to considerable climatic changes.

"It is known that the sun influences the birth, evolution, and the current situation of all living organisms on our planet. The growth of plants, the number of insects, and the spreading of certain illnesses depend on the activity of the sun during its 11-year cycle." According to medical statistics, the condition of people with cardiovascular problems deteriorates after large solar eruptions. This discovery is very important for pilots and cosmonauts, and so forth. This explains the need to study solar activity. "To be acquainted with it means to foresee and take the necessary measures to eschew dangerous consequences." Hundreds of such threads linking the sun to the earth have been discovered. However, each year new such threads are discovered. The mechanism of how solar perturbation influences our life on earth is not completely clarified. Many experiments will be devoted to this problem, which is also the object of the Intervol space project.

Within the framework of this project, new explorations will be made, and the solar activity and its influence of human lives will be studied. Along with the launching of the first Soviet satellite of the earth, the researchers dealt with the circumterrestrial space which begins at an altitude of 100 km above the earth.

What experiments will be carried out within the framework of the Intervol project?

"As far back as 1959, that is, 2 years after launching the first artificial satellite, a great discovery was made, which I would characterize as fundamental for the whole development of science about the universe. Plasma was discovered, a gaseous substance with an enormously high temperature emanated by the solar crown."

"For several years, scientists from various countries thought of exploring it within the framework of the Intervol project" to gain knowledge about the influence of this solar phenomena on the living conditions on our planet. "This is of importance for agriculture, medicine, space flights, and many other areas." This study will enable us to establish mutual relationships between various phenomena. These studies will be pursued with the help of the equipment aboard the astro-physical satellite.

Progress, Experiments on 'Mir' Complex Updated

LD191050 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 19 TASS—Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have completed their 120th day in orbit.

Yesterday they conducted a series of technological experiments and did scheduled maintenance work on a temperature control system.

The cosmonauts also performed another series of astrophysics studies using the international orbital observatory Roentgen and zeroing in on the supernova in the Large Magellanic Cloud.

X-ray telescopes today were again trained on that unique celestial object. The spacemen will take pictures of individual areas of the Corvus Constellation by means of the Glazar ultra-violet telescope.

According to reports from the crew and telemetry data, the flight of the orbiting platform Mir is proceeding normally.

The ground control center has simultaneously been continuing to control the flight of the orbiting station Salyut-7 which has been functioning in near-earth space for six years.

In August 1986 it was shifted to a higher orbit for a service-life test. Telemetry data about the condition of Salyut-7's on-board systems has been coming to the ground control center daily for interpretation and analysis.

Cuba's Resources Surveyed

LD200152 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] The crew of the Soviet orbital complex Mir have carried out a large-scale experiment to study Cuba's natural resources. While flying over the island, Cosmonauts Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov took photos of industrial and farming regions and the coastline. At the same time, similar research was done from satellites, laboratory planes, and ground observation posts. The experiments involved experts from Cuba, Bulgaria, the German Democratic Republic, Poland, and the Soviet Union.

'Space Preserve' Planned Near Chernobyl

LD191225 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Chernobyl April 19 TASS—By TASS special correspondent Mikhail Divanov:

Scientific observations of how nature itself overcomes the impact of radiation will be carried out in a special preserve to be set up in the area of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant. The decision to this effect has been passed by the governmental commission for the elimination of the consequences of the accident at the nuclear power plant late in April 1986.

"The ecological situation which emerged in the area of Chernobyl cannot be reproduced experimentally," believes Professor Boris Prister, chairman of the Radiology-Coordination Council of the Southern Branch of the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences (Vaskhnil). The tragic accident made it possible for scientists to use the area as a unique laboratory for the study of the impact of radiation on living nature.

The prohibited zone will include a territory within a radius of 10 kilometres from the nuclear power plant, which was exposed to the heaviest radioactive contamination. Stations will be set up there to monitor the behaviour of animals and development of plants, and laboratories will be established for conducting experiments.

One of the most important trends in research in that ecological test range will be the study of the impact of radioactive contamination on the genetic apparatus of living creatures. "So far the real impact on the genetic apparatus of organisms cannot be statistically studied," the scientist said. But such studies take a long time, since mutation in living organisms may manifest itself even in the sixth-seventh generations.

Therefore the zone must be protected from the impact of human activities for a long time. Already now tree felling and removal of the upper layer of the soil for decontamination has been prohibited there.

In Boris Prister's opinion, the results of the study of radiation of mutogenesis of plants is of great significance for the investigations by selectionists. The data accumulated as a result of systematic studies in the preserve will be used to resolve questions in connection with the increase in the yield of some farm crops, their resistance to pests and climatic influences.

Military

CPSU Military Policy Book Reviewed

PM200949 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 9 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Doctor of Military Sciences Professor Lieutenant General I.Lyutov article under the rubric "Notes on Books": "Party Military Policy"]

[Text] The prevention of war and the reliable defense of the peaceful creative work of the Soviet people and the states of the socialist community—that is the highest aim of the CPSU's military policy. That is the main idea that Doctor of Philosophical Sciences V. Khalipov promotes in his new book "CPSU Military Policy." (Footnote: V.F. Khalipov. CPSU Military Policy [Voyennaya politika KPSS] Moscow, Military Publishing House, 1988.)

Our party and its Central Committee are constantly concerned to strengthen the country's defense capability. The work under review reveals in popular form this sphere of the party's activity and generalizes the experience of the leadership of military development and the Armed Forces.

The book focuses mainly on military policy's theoretical and methodological bases. The author consistently reveals the significance of Marxist-Leninist theory in working out military policy concepts which accord as much as possible with the modern stage and prospects for the development of the world community and reveals the mechanism for influencing the main means of socialism's armed defense—the army.

The historical experience of the party's military policy, the scientist stresses, is of invaluable importance for modern conditions. It was gained in the difficult years of the civil war and intervention and in the grim times of the Great Patriotic War. It has acquired particular significance in recent decades, during the struggle to create military and strategic parity and to maintain and strengthen peace.

The 27th CPSU Congress became an important landmark in the Soviet Union's struggle for peace. It offered mankind a new concept of international security, a political philosophy of peace, and a platform of specific actions for its achievement. An appeal was made from the congress platform to the peoples and governments of all countries to master the new political thinking as the only possible thinking in the nuclear and space age. Its

ideas and principles are entering the practice of international relations increasingly vigorously. The Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was an important result of this policy.

But the question on eliminating the nuclear threat has still not been removed from the agenda. The most reactionary forces of imperialism have not given up their attempts to achieve military superiority over the USSR and its allies and to extend the arms race into space. In a situation in which imperialism still threatens to unleash a new war, our party and government are tirelessly concerned to maintain the Armed Forces' defense potential at the necessary level.

While on the subject of the scientist's new work, I would like to draw readers' attention to the precise definition of the role and place of military science in the system of knowledge of war and the army inasmuch as we often hear incompetent opinions on this problem.

Because of the nature of its social structure and peace-loving policy the Soviet state has never associated and does not associate its future with a military solution to international problems, especially now in the atmosphere of nuclear confrontation. For this reason the USSR and other socialist countries advocate the solution of international questions only by peaceful and political means. Soviet military doctrine, the author notes, is a system of fundamental views on the prevention of war, on military building, on the preparation of the country and its Armed Forces to repel aggression, and on the means of waging an armed struggle in defense of the socialist fatherland. It follows from this that our doctrine, just like the Warsaw Pact military doctrine, is spearheaded against war and toward the consolidation of the foundations of general security.

Other problems related to the essence and principles of building the Soviet Armed Forces and their improvement and to showing the objective necessity to maintain their high combat readiness are also examined in separate chapters.

It should be noted that the book examines Soviet military doctrine in a rather isolated way, without linking it to the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact states adopted in May 1987 at the Berlin Conference of the Political Consultative Committee. It is important to stress that this document is a real product of the new political thinking. Its proclamation has a salutary effect on the political climate and world situation.

On the whole the important patterns, principles, and directions of the development of the CPSU's military policy are successfully generalized and systematized in V. Khalipov's new work. This work will undoubtedly assist military cadres in their ideological and theoretical self-education.

Air Defense Readiness in Light of Rust Flight

PM200747 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Interview with Colonel General V. Silakov, Military Council member and Air Defense Forces Political Directorate chief, by own correspondent Colonel A. Yurkin: "Combat Readiness—the Law of Life"; date and place not given—first paragraph is KRASNAYA ZVEZDA introduction]

[Excerpt] On the eve of Air Defense Forces Day our correspondent Colonel A. Yurkin met with Colonel General V. Silakov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Air Defense Forces Political Directorate, and asked him to answer a number of questions.

[Yurkin] In accordance with our defensive military doctrine the combat readiness of the Soviet Armed Forces is maintained at a level commensurate with the threat of aggression, with due observance of the principle of sufficiency for defense. All Armed Forces branches and troop categories are developed within these limits. What bearing does this have on the Air Defense Forces?

[Silakov] Since their creation, the Air Defense Forces have implemented a responsible, and at the same time purely defensive task: They guard the USSR state border in the airspace. They are equipped with modern weapons and hardware which form the material basis of their combat readiness. Naturally, the main role in the implementation of the combat task is played by people who have mastered the weaponry and hardware. Furthermore, for servicemen in the Air Defense Forces combat readiness is not an abstract concept but rather their concrete daily labor. Not everyone knows, perhaps, that every day our combat crews and duty details detect and trail aircraft which come close to our state border. These are mainly foreign reconnaissance aircraft.

We have drawn practical conclusions from last year's incident involving the violation of the USSR state border by the West German sports aircraft. We have carried out a recertification of servicemen. We have become more purposeful in organizing spot checks and elaborating questions concerning interaction. In short, we are working hard to enhance the combat readiness of units and subunits.

[Yurkin] But, clearly, do some unresolved problems remain?

[Silakov] Yes, unfortunately. For instance, in some units and subunits the tendency to cut corners in training has still not been overcome. Providing amenities in our military settlements and ensuring that our subunits have everything they need to lead a normal life remain acute questions. [passage omitted]

Admiral Chernavin Presents Badges to Commanders
PM200955 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 12 Apr 88 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondent Captain 2d Class A. Pilipchuk report under the rubric "Prestige of Naval Personnel": "Symbol of Responsibility"]

[Excerpt] Baltic Fleet—The "Submarine Commander Badge," which is presented to officers upon taking command of a boat, has existed since 1942; submariners have been proudly wearing the cherished "boat badge" for almost half a century.

The numerous proposals to introduce a "Ship Commander" badge for surface sailors as well were aimed at enhancing the prestige of naval personnel and the authority of the post of commander. The KRASNAYA ZVEZDA Editorial Bureau has received hundreds of letters requesting this.

Fleet Admiral V. Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, recently presented "Ship Commander" badges to a group of surface ship commanders from the Baltic Fleet in the presence of commanders of formations and chiefs of political organs. [passage omitted]